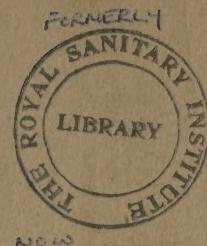


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REPORT OF THE CARE OF CHILDREN COMMITTEE

Presented by the Secretary of State for the Home Department,
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by Command of His Majesty
September 1946

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REPORT OF THE CARE OF CHILDREN COMMITTEE

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WARRANT OF APPOINTMENT

WE HEREBY APPOINT:

Miss MYRA CURTIS, C.B.E.
 *Mrs. J. L. ADAMSON, M.P.
 *Mrs. CAZALET KEIR, M.P.
 Mr. H. GRAHAM WHITE, M.P.
 Miss S. CLEMENT BROWN
 Mr. R. J. EVANS
 Miss LUCY G. FILDES
 Miss M. L. HARFORD
 Dr. SOMERVILLE HASTINGS
 Alderman Miss K. JONES, O.B.E.
 The Reverend J. H. LITTON
 Mr. J. MOSS
 Mrs. HELEN MURTAGH
 Mr. HENRY SALT
 Professor J. C. SPENCE, M.C., M.D.
 Mrs. F. G. A. TEMPLE, and
 Mr. S. O. WALMSLEY

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to be a Committee to inquire into existing methods of providing for children who from loss of parents or from any cause whatever are deprived of a normal home life with their own parents or relatives; and to consider what further measures should be taken to ensure that these children are brought up under conditions best calculated to compensate them for the lack of parental care.

AND WE FURTHER APPOINT Miss Myra Curtis to be Chairman and Miss D. M. D. Rosling of the Home Office and Mr. G. T. Milne of the Ministry of Health, to be Joint Secretaries of the Committee.

(Signed) HERBERT MORRISON
 HENRY WILLINK
 R. A. BUTLER

London.

8th March, 1945.

* Resigned.

WE HEREBY APPOINT Mrs. Muriel E. Nichol, M.P., to be a member of the Committee to inquire into existing methods of providing for children who from loss of parents or from any cause whatever are deprived of a normal home life with their own parents or relatives; and to consider what further measures should be taken to ensure that these children are brought up under conditions best calculated to compensate them for the lack of parental care, in place of Mrs. J. L. Adamson, M.P., who has resigned.

(Signed) J. CHUTER EDE
 ANEURIN BEVAN
 ELLEN WILKINSON

London.

8th October, 1945.

NOTE.

The estimated gross cost of the preparation of this Report and of the Committee's Interim Report (Cmd. 6760) is £2119 13s. 2d., of which £480 10s. od. represents the estimated cost of the printing and publication of these Reports.



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Report of the Care of Children Committee

To : The Right Honourable J. CHUTER EDE, M.P., *Secretary of State for the Home Department*
The Right Honourable ANEURIN BEVAN, M.P., *Minister of Health*
The Right Honourable ELLEN WILKINSON, M.P., *Minister of Education*

INTRODUCTION

1. We were appointed in March, 1945, by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the Minister of Health and the Minister of Education jointly, with the following terms of reference: "to inquire into existing methods of providing for children who from loss of parents or from any cause whatever are deprived of a normal home life with their own parents or relatives; and to consider what further measures should be taken to ensure that these children are brought up under conditions best calculated to compensate them for the lack of parental care."

2. We have met in full committee on 64 days. We have examined 229 witnesses.* We have read and considered 114 memoranda submitted by Government Departments, organisations and individuals, including the written evidence submitted by witnesses whom we have subsequently examined orally. We have, individually or in small groups, visited 451 institutions of various kinds in all parts of the country, and have in the course of our tours, interviewed officials and/or members of some 58 local authorities. We have also visited foster homes. Of the administrative counties in England and Wales we have paid visits in 41. We presented an Interim Report on the subject of Training in Child Care on 4th January, 1946.†

3. It is of interest to note that this is the first enquiry in this country directed specifically to the care of children deprived of a normal home life, and covering all groups of such children.

Scope of the Enquiry

4. It was necessary, at the outset, to consider carefully the precise scope of our terms of reference. The term "child" is variously defined in statutes dealing with different aspects of the problem, e.g., the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, defines a "child" as a person under 14 years of age and a "young person" as a person over 14 and under 17 years of age; the Public Assistance Order, 1930, defines a "child" as a person under 16 years of age. A "young person" over 16 committed to an approved school under the former Act may be detained there until the attainment of age 19 at the latest and may be under supervision up to the age of 21. Where a local authority, under Section 52 of the Poor Law Act, 1930, assumes parental rights and powers over a child maintained by the authority, these rights and powers may remain vested in the authority until the child reaches the age of 18 years. The War Orphans Act, 1942, which imposes certain duties on the Minister of Pensions in relation to war orphans, empowers the Minister to continue to provide until the attainment of age 21 for the care of a child pensioned by him, although the pension may, and normally does, cease at an earlier age. In view of this diversity of definition of the term "child," we decided that we could not, in our investigation, regard ourselves as bound by any particular limit of age, but must take a broad view of the scope of the enquiry in this respect.

* See Appendix II.

† Cmd. 6760.

5. While we have found that the statutes define certain categories of children as needing special provision to be made for their care, we have not confined our investigation to the provision made for the categories so defined; we have made recommendations regarding the care of certain classes of children who in our view require compensation for the lack of parental care though they are not recognised in any existing legislation as being in such need.

6. We have considered the needs of children temporarily deprived for a variety of reasons of normal home life, as well as the needs of those requiring long-term care. We have included within our scope children removed from their homes by order of a Court as well as those who are found through the machinery of the Poor Law or otherwise to be destitute. We have accordingly investigated the conditions of life in approved schools, remand homes and probation hostels as well as in public assistance and voluntary homes. We have however excluded from our consideration all questions concerned with the operation of the penal code, and have made no investigation of the conditions in Borstal institutions. We have considered the residential accommodation for children deprived temporarily or permanently of home life by reason of physical or mental infirmity or deficiency, but have regarded the medical treatment of such children as outside our scope. We have enquired into the circumstances in which children are privately placed in the care of individuals other than their parents or legal guardians with or without payment and with or without the intention of legal or de facto adoption and we make recommendations entailing the amendment of the law relating to adoption and child life protection.

7. We have not regarded ourselves as called upon to deal with children who though suffering from neglect, malnutrition or other evils, are still in their own homes under their parents' care. During the period leading up to a child's removal from his home he may indeed be said to be deprived of a "normal" home life. We have heard conditions described which we should be sorry to think were normal, but the difficulty of drawing the line among children in their homes is obvious. The consideration of the welfare of children deprived of home life has inevitably raised in our minds and in those of many of our witnesses the question whether this deprivation might not have been prevented. This is a question which we regard as of the utmost importance and we hope that serious consideration will be given to it; but it is not the problem with which we have been asked to deal.

Classification of the Children

8. The children who come within the scope of our enquiry may be classified in a variety of ways, e.g.,

- (a) according to the circumstances which have deprived them of a normal home life;
- (b) according to the route by which they have come under the care of some authority, organisation or individual other than their own parents or guardians;
- (c) according to the kind of authority, organisation or individual in whose care they are placed;
- (d) according to the type of care they are receiving;
- (e) according to their needs.

There is no exact correspondence between the different classifications. The child's circumstances do not necessarily pre-determine the route by which it comes under care, or the type of authority or organisation in whose care it is placed. The types of care in which the children are placed vary widely, some being common to different types of authority or organisation, others

peculiar to authorities or organisations of particular kinds. The correlation of the needs of the children with the type of care they are receiving is very far from being complete.

9. In endeavouring to ascertain the numbers of children in the various categories who come within our terms of reference we have necessarily had to rely upon the classifications described in (b) and (c) of paragraph 8, i.e. we have obtained from the Government departments concerned particulars of the numbers of "deprived" children ascertained by these departments in the course of their administration of the relevant statutes, supplementing those particulars where necessary by information obtained from voluntary organisations. The particulars so obtained do not furnish a complete record of the children with whom we are concerned, because they do not cover children of the classes referred to in paragraph 5 for whom no provision is made by statute.

10. The children with whom we have concerned ourselves can be conveniently considered as falling within the following groups:

- (a) children maintained by local authorities under the Acts and Regulations relating to the Poor Law;
- (b) children found to be homeless on the winding up of the Government Evacuation Scheme;
- (c) children brought before the Courts as delinquent or in need of care or protection and required by the Courts to live elsewhere than in their own homes;
- (d) healthy children maintained by local authorities under the Public Health Act;
- (e) children cared for by voluntary organizations;
- (f) children in the care of private persons who are not their parents or legal guardians whether or not with a view to legal adoption;
- (g) children who by reason of physical or mental handicaps have to be placed for long periods in hospitals or other residential establishments;
- (h) children orphaned by the war.

11. The first main section of our report gives an outline of the statutory provisions and administrative arrangements now made for the care of deprived children. Then follows an account of the conditions in which deprived children were found to be living and a description of the local administrative arrangements in areas visited by members of the Committee. The final section of the report discusses the various factors which enter into a consideration of the problem and contains our recommendations.

SECTION I

EXISTING STATUTORY PROVISIONS AND ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

CHILDREN MAINTAINED UNDER THE POOR LAW

12. The largest group of children deprived of a normal home life consists of those who are maintained by local authorities under the Poor Law as poor persons in need of relief. The governing statute is the Poor Law Act, 1930, which is a consolidation of earlier enactments relating to the relief of the poor. The language of this Act betrays the antiquity of some of the enactments of which it is an amalgam and reflects a spirit which, we are glad to say, is not characteristic of the administration of the local authorities, though it may well have been a drag on progress.

13. The Act is administered, under the general direction and control of the Minister of Health, by county and county borough councils (Sec. 2) who may combine for the purpose (Sec. 3) and who normally act through Public Assistance Committees under administrative schemes which may provide for local administration by sub-committees (Sec. 4-6). In preparing administrative schemes the local authorities were required, by Section 5 of the Local Government Act, 1929, to have regard to the desirability of securing that, as soon as circumstances permitted, all assistance which could lawfully be provided otherwise than by way of poor relief should be so provided, and were empowered to include in schemes a declaration that any assistance that could be provided either by way of poor relief or by virtue of certain specified Acts should be provided exclusively by virtue of the appropriate Act. The specified Acts were the Public Health Act, 1875, the Local Government Act, 1888, the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913, the Maternity and Child Welfare Act, 1918, the Blind Persons Act, 1920, the Public Health (Tuberculosis) Act, 1921, and the Education Act, 1921. None of these Acts confers power to maintain healthy children over five years of age.

14. Section 4 (4) of the Poor Law Act, 1930, enables provision to be made in the administrative scheme for any of the functions of the Public Assistance Committee to be discharged on behalf of and subject to the general direction and control of that Committee by any of the other committees of the Council. By these means and also sometimes by less formal agency arrangements some of the work of Public Assistance Committees including the care of destitute children has in a number of areas been taken over by other committees of the Council, usually the Education Committee, Public Health Committee or Maternity and Child Welfare Committee, according to the nature of the work in question.

15. The duty of the local authority with respect to poor persons is expressed as follows (Sec. 15 (1)):

- “(a) to set to work all such persons whether married or unmarried, as have no means to maintain themselves, and use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by;
- (b) to provide such relief as may be necessary for the lame, impotent, old, blind and such other persons as are poor and not able to work;
- (c) to set to work or put out as apprentices all children whose parents are not, in the opinion of the Council, able to keep and maintain their children; and
- (d) to do and execute all other things concerning the matters aforesaid as to the council may seem convenient.”

16. It will be noted that the only duty, beyond relief, specified here in respect of children is "to set (them) to work or put (them) out as apprentices." No general duties as regards education and welfare are specifically laid upon the authorities by the Act. Sections 53-57, however, empower the authority to provide for the children by maintaining them in institutions described as "schools." They may—

- (a) establish "separate schools" for the "relief and management of the children to be received therein";
- (b) send children to "schools" supported wholly or partially by voluntary subscriptions which are certified by the Minister as being fitted for the reception of children, and pay the reasonable expenses of maintenance, clothing and education;
- (c) send deaf and dumb or blind children to special schools fitted for their reception whether certified or not.

17. The authorities may with the Minister's consent make annual subscriptions towards the support and maintenance of voluntary agencies from which persons in receipt of relief have or could have assistance (Sec. 67), and this provision is regarded as authorising the placing of children in voluntary Homes not certified by the Minister.

18. Although the Poor Law Act does not specifically authorise the boarding-out of children it contains (in Sec. 52 (3)) one passing reference which implies that boarding-out is one of the recognised methods of providing for the care of destitute children, and Part VI of the Public Assistance Order, 1930, contains detailed rules on the subject.

19. A very important provision is that contained in Section 52 of the Act which empowers a county or county borough council to resolve in certain circumstances that all the rights and powers of a parent or of both parents of a child shall vest in the council until the child reaches the age of eighteen years. The circumstances in which this action may be taken are that the child is deserted or is a total orphan or that the parents are in certain specified respects unable or unfitted to have control of the child. The power is subject to a right of appeal by a parent or guardian to a Court of summary jurisdiction which may by order determine the resolution. Under Section 52 (7) of the Act public assistance authorities may give consent to the "adoption" by private individuals of children maintained by the authorities, and may revoke their consent at any time during a period of three years from the date of the adoption. During that period they must arrange for the child to be visited at least twice a year. These provisions do not apply to legal adoptions under the Adoption of Children Act, 1926.

20. Section 26 requires county and county borough councils to provide for the reception of children and young persons brought to a workhouse in pursuance of the Children Act, 1908 (now the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, Sec. 67, "places of safety"). Other provisions of the Poor Law Act, 1930, empower the local authorities to bind destitute children to be apprentices (Secs. 59-66), to procure, subject to the Minister's consent, the emigration of orphan and deserted children (Sec. 68) and to assist boys entering the naval service (Sec. 69). We are informed that little use is now made of these powers.

21. The Minister is required to appoint inspectors for the purpose of assisting in the execution of the Act. The inspectors are "entitled to visit and inspect every workhouse or place wherein any poor person in receipt of relief is lodged" and to take part in the proceedings of councils and committees dealing

with poor relief (Sec 9). Public assistance authorities are empowered to send their own inspectors to visit any "certified school" to which they have sent children (Sec. 57 (2)).

22. The Public Assistance Order, 1930, as amended by the Public Assistance (Amendment) Order, 1945, made by the Minister of Health in the exercise of his powers under the Poor Law Act, 1930, contains detailed rules and regulations for the administration of public assistance including the management of institutions, hospitals and children's homes, and lays down conditions under which the authorities may provide for poor children by boarding them out with foster parents.

Children in Workhouses

23. Article 27 of the Public Assistance Order, 1930, prohibits the retention of any child between the ages of 3 and 16 in "the institution" for more than six weeks except in the sick wards or on medical grounds. Thus, apart from the sick, the only children over three years of age who should be found in workhouses are those who are admitted in emergency or as a temporary measure. We are, however, informed by the Ministry of Health that the enforcement of this Article has always been a matter of difficulty and this is confirmed by our own investigations. The retention of children under 3 in nurseries in public assistance institutions is common, but the establishment of separate nurseries is growing, with official encouragement.

"Separate Schools"

24. The term "separate school" originally meant a self-contained residential establishment, usually of the "barrack" type, in which education was given on the premises, but the statutory power to establish such "schools" is now taken to cover a variety of types of children's Homes in very few of which is education provided for internally; the children normally go out to the ordinary day schools in the neighbourhood of the Homes.

The main types are as follows:—

- (a) Homes forming a single unit, large or small, usually in the charge of a superintendent and matron;
- (b) Grouped "Cottage" Homes, i.e. groups of small Homes each containing 10-30 children in charge of a foster mother, under a superintendent and matron;
- (c) "Scattered" Homes, i.e. small Homes, usually in ordinary dwelling houses, scattered throughout a district—each in charge of a foster mother under central supervision;
- (d) Receiving Homes, i.e. Homes, usually small, specially set apart for the initial reception of children pending a decision on their permanent disposal, or for short-stay cases.

"Certified Schools"

25. The term "schools" is here also, as in the case of the "separate schools" an anachronism as very few of the voluntary Homes certified by the Minister of Health for the reception of Poor Law children provide education on the premises. Rather more than 200 such Homes are certified, and more than half of these belong to the large voluntary organisations which are members of the National Council of Associated Children's Homes.

Uncertified Voluntary Homes

26. A small number of Poor Law children are sent to voluntary Homes not certified by the Minister, generally where the Home in question provides facilities adapted to the special needs of the particular child.

Special Provision for Handicapped Children

27. Apart from the specific power given by Section 58 to send children to special schools for deaf and dumb or blind children, we are informed that it has long been recognised as competent to a public assistance authority to send a sick person, whether child or adult, to any appropriate hospital or other establishment for medical treatment. Some of the children for whom the authorities are responsible are accordingly to be found in hospitals and in special schools or institutions, municipal or voluntary, for the care of handicapped children, including the deaf and dumb and the blind.

Boarding Out

28. The boarding out of Poor Law children was, until 1945, restricted by Article 92 of the Public Assistance Order, 1930, to orphan or deserted children and children in respect of whom the authorities had assumed parental rights and powers under Section 52 of the Poor Law Act, 1930. We are informed that departure from the requirements of this Article had for some years been freely authorised by the Minister of Health and the Article was eventually in February, 1945, revoked by the Public Assistance (Amendment) Order, 1945. The immediate object of the change was to facilitate the continuance of private care for Poor Law children who had been billeted under the evacuation scheme. The Regulations require the appointment of area boarding out committees to supervise the boarding out arrangements, and authorise the appointment of paid boarding out visitors to visit the children. We are informed that 85 authorities employ paid visitors only, 21 employ voluntary visitors only and 26 employ both paid and voluntary visitors. Each foster home must be visited not less often than once in every six weeks by a woman member of the committee or by a paid visitor. A child must not be boarded out without a certificate of a medical officer as to his bodily health and mental condition and his suitability for boarding out, and the council is required to arrange for the provision of necessary medical and dental care. The inspectors of the Ministry of Health are empowered by Section 9 of the Poor Law Act 1930 to visit and inspect foster homes, and the foster parents are required by the Rules to give an undertaking to permit the child and the home to be examined at any time by the Ministry's inspectors, by members of the boarding out committee or by persons authorised by the Minister, the council or the committee. The number of children boarded out by public assistance authorities was approximately 5,700 in 1939. In 1946, owing largely to the effects of war the number had been reduced to 4,900.

Assumption of Parental Rights

29. The number of children subject to resolutions under Section 52 in 1945 was 5,700. This is about 16 per cent. of the children in the care of the Poor Law authorities. We are informed that resolutions once taken are rarely rescinded by the authority or determined by the Courts.

Finance

30. The cost of the maintenance of destitute children under the Poor Law Act is borne on the county and county borough rates. There is no direct

grant from the Exchequer in aid of this service, but the expenditure is, in common with other expenditure of local authorities, taken into account in the calculation of the Exchequer block grant.

Inspection

31. The inspection of Poor Law Children's Homes and of voluntary Homes in which Poor Law children are received is carried out under the direction of the General Inspectors of the Ministry of Health, who are responsible for the inspection of the whole field of Poor Law administration. There are 11 General Inspectors, assisted by 11 Assistant General Inspectors and 11 Women Inspectors. The Women Inspectors are State Registered nurses, usually with a Health Visitor qualification, and are responsible for the inspection of the Maternity and Child Welfare work of the local authorities as well as the public assistance work. The actual inspection of Children's Homes and Nurseries has until recently been undertaken by the Women Inspectors but is now being shared by the Welfare Officers of the Ministry; these are women with experience in social work, originally employed to supervise the welfare of evacuated women and children during the war. There are 11 Welfare Officers.

Numbers of children maintained

32. The approximate numbers of children maintained by public assistance authorities at 1st May, 1946, excluding rate-aided patients in mental hospitals and children receiving out-relief in their own homes, are shown in the following Table.

TABLE I

HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS:

Sick Wards	...	...	...	3,456	
Nurseries and other wards	...	...	...	*3,044	6,500

CHILDREN'S HOMES:

Grouped Cottage Homes	...	...	...	7,024	
Scattered Homes	...	...	...	4,662	
Other Homes—					
(including separate nurseries)		...		5,209	16,895

VOLUNTARY HOMES, ETC.

(certified and uncertified):					
Special schools	...	...	...	657	
For other than sick	...	...	...	†3,941	4,598

BOARDED OUT

...	...	...	...	4,892	

32,885

EVACUATED CHILDREN LEFT HOMELESS

33. On 31st March, 1946, there remained billeted or accommodated in hostels or nurseries in the reception areas 5,200 children who for various reasons were unable to return to homes of their own. Some are orphans, others have a parent or parents who cannot provide a home for them. These children

* Including in the "other wards of general institutions" 326 children between 3 and 16 years of age who were in separate wards for children.

† In the voluntary homes are about 15,000 non-Poor Law children also supervised by the Ministry of Health.

might have become chargeable to the Poor Law authorities but having regard to the fact that their situation was largely attributable to the war, the Government decided to provide for them by an interim scheme until new arrangements for the care of destitute children generally are brought into being.

34. The children continue to be billeted or accommodated in hostels, nurseries or special schools for the handicapped, the Exchequer paying the billeting allowances or equivalent sums during the interim period. The responsibility for the welfare of the children and for the balance of the cost including the provision of clothing and pocket-money has been assumed by the county or county borough councils of the areas from which the children were evacuated, the actual work of supervision being delegated to the county or county borough councils of the areas in which the children are now living. About 3,000 of the children are billeted in private households, about 1,200 are in hostels and 1,000 in residential nurseries and special schools.

35. Hostels to the number of over 500 were established during the war to provide for the care of evacuated children who for various reasons including difficulties of behaviour could not be billeted. At 30th April, 1946 there remained 114 hostels, almost all of which were of the type catering for difficult children. In addition to the 1,000 evacuees, the hostels contain about 500 children who have been sent there solely on account of the treatment which the hostels are able to provide, viz. (a) maladjusted children for whom local education authorities have assumed responsibility under Section 33 of the Education Act, 1944, (b) children committed to the care of local education authorities under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933 and unsuitable for boarding out, (c) children maintained by public assistance authorities and voluntary organisations for whom the hostels provide the most suitable form of care.

36. The hostels are being maintained at present under powers contained in the Defence Regulations as part of the provision made for evacuation and they must in due course be closed down unless they are taken over and adapted to the use of some peace-time service. We are informed that the Ministry of Education, in February, 1945, suggested to a number of local education authorities that they might consider taking over hostels to serve as residential schools for maladjusted children but that, at the date of our latest information (July, 1946) only two hostels had been taken over in this way.

CHILDREN BROUGHT BEFORE THE COURTS AS DELINQUENT OR IN NEED OF CARE OR PROTECTION

37. The next main group of children with whom our enquiry is concerned consists of those who have been brought before a Magistrates' court and dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the Children and Young Persons Acts, 1933 and 1938. The 1933 Act defines children as under 14 years of age and young persons as between 14 and 17 years of age. For convenience we refer to them all as children except where it is necessary to make the distinction. Under Part III of the 1933 Act, children may be removed from their homes by order of the juvenile courts because they are offenders against the law, refractory or beyond control, or in need of care or protection. The Act fixes the age at which a child can be charged with an offence at eight years (Sec. 50) and requires the courts in dealing with all children who come before them whether as offenders or in need of care or protection or otherwise, to have regard to their welfare, to have them removed from undesirable surroundings, and to have provision made for their education and training. In order to achieve this the Court may—

- (i) commit the child to an "approved school", i.e. a school approved by the Secretary of State for the purposes of education and training;

(ii) commit the child to a "fit person" who is willing to receive it (a local authority may be a "fit person" for this purpose).

38. According to the evidence of the Home Office, it is often an accident whether a child is brought before the Court for an offence or as a neglected child, and it is accordingly appropriate that the same methods of treatment should be equally available in either case. The Court may, instead of adopting either of the two courses mentioned in paragraph 37 place the child (if an offender) on probation or (if a non-offender) under supervision, either in his own home or with a requirement that he should reside in some specified place. The Courts may not send children under ten to approved schools unless they cannot suitably be dealt with otherwise. Pending a first or later hearing before the Court, the child may be taken to a remand home, either as a place of safety or for purposes of temporary detention, or he may be detained in a remand home while awaiting a vacancy in an approved school.

Approved Schools

39. Local authorities are empowered, with the approval of the Secretary of State, and either alone or in combination, to provide and maintain approved schools, and have the duty of doing so where there is a deficiency of approved school accommodation (Sec. 80).

40. The Secretary of State is empowered to classify approved schools according to age of pupils, religious persuasion, character of education and training, geographical position, etc., so as to secure that a child is sent to a school appropriate to his case; and the managers of an approved school are, subject to certain qualifications, bound to accept any person sent to the school in pursuance of the Act (Sec. 81).

41. The schools are classified according to the ages of the children at the date of committal, thus—

Boys: Junior—under 13.

Intermediate—13 and under 15.

Senior—15 and under 17.

Girls: Junior—under 15.

Senior—15 and under 17.

Two girls' schools have recently been classified as Intermediate, taking girls aged 13-15.

Generally the allocation of children to schools is made centrally by the Home Office. A start has been made with the establishment of classifying schools, where children may stay for a short period before being transferred to schools suited to their needs.

42. The Fourth Schedule to the 1933 Act, which contains detailed provisions relating to the administration of approved schools, confers upon the managers full parental rights and powers in relation to the children committed to their care. An order for committal to an approved school does not specify the period of detention, which is left to the discretion of the managers of the school having regard to the progress made, subject to the limits specified by the Act. Children under 12 may be detained up to the age of 15, and no child may be detained beyond the age of 19; otherwise the period of detention is limited to a maximum of three years. The managers are required to place out the boys and girls on licence as soon as they have made sufficient progress but the consent of the Secretary of State must be obtained for placing out during the first twelve months. A boy or girl may, with the consent of the Secretary of State, be detained beyond the maximum period, if necessary to complete training, but not for longer than six months and not in any case beyond the age of 19.

43. The Act contemplates the exercise of after care by providing (Sec. 74(1)) that every person on completing his period of detention shall remain under the supervision of the managers until at least the age of 18, and if over 15, for a period of three years or until the age of 21 at the latest; and shall be subject to recall at any time while under the age of 19. Employment is found for boys and girls on leaving the schools and where necessary they are placed in suitable lodgings or hostels. Supervision may be exercised by the headmasters and staff, by welfare officers attached to the schools, by local education authorities or by probation officers.

44. There were at the date of our enquiry 141 approved schools in England and Wales, of which 30 were managed by local authorities and 111 by voluntary organisations. There were 89 schools for boys (9,960 places), 51 for girls (2,300 places), and one mixed school (20 places). The number of committals has averaged about 5,600 per annum in recent years.

Committal to the care of "Fit Persons"

45. As regards committal to the care of "fit persons," it will be noticed that the local authority, like other "fit persons," is not obliged to take the child. The Secretary of State is empowered to make rules as to the treatment of children and young persons committed to the care of "fit persons," and to provide for the visiting of children and young persons committed to the care of local authorities (Sec. 84 (2)).

46. Local authorities are empowered to board out children and young persons committed to their care subject to any rules in this regard made by the Secretary of State; and are required to select for this purpose, if possible, a person who is of the same religious persuasion as the child or young person or who gives an undertaking that he will be brought up in accordance with that religious persuasion (Sec. 84(3)).

47. The provisions made by the Acts and Rules for the committal of children to the care of local authorities as "fit persons" and for their being boarded out by the authorities follow the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders which reported in 1927. The number of children under committal rose from 354 in 1934 to approximately 13,000 in 1945. Of the latter number, about 10,000 were committed to local authorities and the remainder to individuals or voluntary organisations.

48. The Children and Young Persons (Boarding Out) Rules, 1933, make boarding out obligatory on the local authority subject to exception for special cases with the consent of the Secretary of State and prescribe the measures to be taken for the care and supervision of the children. The local authority must arrange for every foster child to be visited within a month of his being boarded out and thereafter not less frequently than once every three months. Where a number of children are boarded out in the same locality the local authority is required to appoint a boarding out Committee, if practicable, whose duty it is to see to the care and supervision of the foster children. The visitation of the foster homes may be undertaken by members of the Committee or by paid visitors. A foster child must not be boarded out without a certificate of a Medical Officer as to his bodily health and mental condition and his suitability for boarding out. The local authority is required to arrange for medical attention and dental treatment to be available, and every foster child must be medically examined within a month of being boarded out. The Rules authorize the inspectors of the Home Office to visit foster children, and the foster parent is required to give an undertaking to permit the child and its home to be examined at any time by a Home

Office inspector or any person authorized by the local authority. Circulars issued by the Home Office on the advice of the Local Authorities Advisory Committee (set up by the Home Secretary in 1936) recommend co-operation with the staff engaged in boarding out under the Poor Law and in Child Life Protection work under the Public Health Act and also co-operation between neighbouring authorities. The employment of trained special officers on the work is also recommended.

49. Under the financial provisions of the 1933 Act the cost of maintaining children committed to the care of the local authorities is shared equally between the authorities and the Exchequer, and the Home Office prescribes the maximum boarding out payments ranking for grant. These were increased in 1944 from 15s. to 20s. per week for school children with an allowance of £12 for the provision of a clothing outfit. The maximum weekly allowance in the case of wage-earners is subject to the condition that the allowance plus net wages shall not exceed 30s., the net wages being arrived at by deducting insurance, fares and a maximum of 7s. for pocket money.

Remand Homes

50. Every county and county borough council is required to provide remand homes for its area, either within or without the area, and either alone or jointly with another county or county borough council. Arrangements may be made with the authority or persons responsible for the management of any institution, other than a prison, for the use of the institution or any part thereof as a remand home (Sec. 77).

51. The Secretary of State is required to provide for the inspection of remand homes and may make rules as to the places to be used and their inspection, as to the classification, treatment, employment and control of the children and young persons detained therein, and as to their visitation by persons appointed for the purpose (Sec. 78).

52. The primary purpose of the remand homes is the custody of children committed thereto by the courts on being remanded or committed for trial. (Sec. 33). Children may also be lodged in remand homes on apprehension by the police (Sec. 32(2)). Other purposes for which remand homes may be used are:—

- (a) as "places of safety." Under Section 67 of the 1933 Act a child in need of care or protection may be lodged in a "place of safety," which is defined in Section 107 as "any remand home, workhouse, or police station or any hospital, surgery or other suitable place, the occupier of which is willing temporarily to receive a child or young person";
- (b) with the consent of the Secretary of State, for the accommodation of children committed to the care of the local authority and awaiting boarding out;
- (c) for the detention of boys and girls awaiting admission to approved schools (Sec. 69). This use of remand homes has assumed a substantial scale and importance by reason of the acute shortage of approved school accommodation resulting from war-time conditions;
- (d) as places of punitive detention. Section 54 of the Act empowers a court to order the detention of a child or young person in a remand home for a period not exceeding a month. We are informed that this power has been little used, because of the objection to associating in a remand home children under punishment with others who are merely awaiting the decision of the Court;
- (e) As places of detention for absconders from approved schools under the age of 17 pending return to the school or appearance before a court.

Probation and Supervision

53. A child or young person who is brought before a Court as an offender may be released on probation (Probation of Offenders Act 1907), and the recognizance into which he enters may contain, inter alia, a condition with respect to residence (Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, Sec. 8).

54. A child or young person who is brought before a court as in need of care or protection, beyond control or a truant may be placed under the supervision of a probation officer, and the supervision order may contain, inter alia, provisions determining the place at which the child or young person is to reside (Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, Secs. 62, 64 and 84, Children and Young Persons Act, 1938, Secs. 2, 3 and 4, Education Act, 1944, Sec. 40). A residence provision in a probation or supervision order may require a child or young person to reside elsewhere than in his own home, and it is in such circumstances that he comes within our terms of reference.

55. The Criminal Justice Act, 1925 (Sec. 5), empowers local authorities to contribute towards the expense of maintaining persons released on probation under a condition as to residence and provides for payments towards such expenses out of moneys provided by Parliament.

56. The power of the justices to direct a boy or girl to live away from home under a probation or supervision order is severely limited. It cannot be exercised in the case of an offender of any age or of a non-offender over 14 years of age without the consent of the boy or girl concerned. No person under 17 can be required to live in any institution not subject to inspection by the Secretary of State unless he is to be employed outside it.

57. The places of residence where children under probation or supervision may be required to live include (i) institutional Homes where some training is given, (ii) hostels from which the boy or girl goes out to work, (iii) lodgings in a private household from which the boy or girl may go out to school or to work. Homes or hostels may be approved by the Home Office for the purposes of Exchequer grant if they observe certain requirements, but may be and often are used for probation and supervision cases although not approved for grant. At 30th June, 1946, 335 boys and 221 girls were resident in approved Homes and hostels.

58. There is no power to contribute to the maintenance of children under supervision orders but we are informed that power to contribute in these cases will be sought in forthcoming legislation. The power of local authorities to contribute to the maintenance of children on probation is unlimited by statute but is in practice controlled by conditions attached to the 50 per cent. grant made by the Exchequer. Thus, grant is limited to persons over 14, with a few exceptions and to residence in approved Homes or hostels or in lodgings. It is limited to six months residence in Homes and to twelve months in hostels or lodgings. In the vast majority of cases the residence direction is for six months, though in exceptional cases such as border line mental defectives it may be for much longer periods.

59. All approved Homes and hostels are regularly inspected by inspectors of the Probation Branch of the Home Office. Others are inspected by inspectors of the Children's Branch. Lodgings are usually left to the inspection of the probation officers who are responsible for supervision of the children throughout the period of residence.

Finance

60. The cost of providing approved schools and remand homes and the expenses of maintaining children sent to those schools and homes under the

provisions of the Children and Young Persons Acts, and of maintaining children who are committed to the care of the local authority as a "fit person" or are on probation are met as to one-half out of the Exchequer and as to one-half out of local rates.

Regulations:

61. Regulations made by the Home Secretary in the exercise of his powers under the Children and Young Persons Acts are contained in—

- (a) The Approved School Rules, 1933 (S.R. & O. 1933, No. 774);
- (b) The Children and Young Persons (Boarding-out) Rules, 1933 (S.R. & O. 1933, No. 787);
- (c) The Remand Homes Rules, 1939 (S.R. & O. 1939, No. 12).

Inspection

62. The Secretary of State is empowered to appoint a chief inspector and inspectors for the purpose of the enactments relating to children and young persons (Sec. 103). The main work of the inspectors in the Children's Branch, of whom there were, at the time of our enquiry, twenty (twelve men and eight women) is the inspection of approved schools and of voluntary Homes not inspected by other Departments. They are also responsible for inspection of the boarding out of children committed to the care of local authorities. Four of the inspectors are medical inspectors. There were also, in the Probation Branch, four men and three women inspectors who inspect probation Homes and hostels.

Numbers under Care

63. The approximate numbers of children now under care elsewhere than in their homes under orders of the Courts are shown in the following Table.

TABLE II

IN APPROVED SCHOOLS:

Boys	...	...	...	...	9,000
Girls	...	...	...	...	2,200
<hr/>					II,200

IN REMAND HOMES:

(Boys and Girls)

Local Authority	...	...	...	I,440
Voluntary	...	...	...	100
<hr/>				I,540

COMMITTED TO THE CARE OF FIT PERSONS, VIZ.:

(i) Local Authorities—				
(a) Boarded out	...	...	6,000	
(b) In institutional establishments	...	...	4,000	
			<hr/>	I0,000
(ii) Individuals and Voluntary Organisations	...	...	3,000	
			<hr/>	I3,000

UNDER PROBATION OR SUPERVISION, VIZ.:

In Homes	...	...	...	200
In Hostels	...	...	...	350
In Lodgings	...	...	...	125
			<hr/>	675
Total				<hr/> 26,415

HEALTHY CHILDREN MAINTAINED UNDER THE PUBLIC HEALTH ACT

64. Part VII of the Public Health Act 1936, gives local authorities power to make arrangements for the care of children under five who are not being educated in schools recognised by the Ministry of Education. These powers are exercised through Maternity and Child Welfare Committees and have been used by some authorities to establish residential nurseries for the care of children whose mothers are unable to take charge of them. In some instances the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee has taken over from the Public Assistance Committee the care of destitute children under five who are housed in nurseries. There is no right of entry to these nurseries by any government inspector. We are however informed that the medical officers and women inspectors of the Ministry of Health do in fact visit such establishments. The relevant section of the Act has also been taken, in a few areas, to cover the placing of infants in foster homes by the Public Health authority.

CHILDREN CARED FOR BY VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

65. A large proportion of the children who have no homes of their own are cared for by charitable organisations without ever having been brought before a Court or made chargeable to a Poor Law Authority. The vast majority of such children are however under some degree of public supervision. Part V of the 1933 Children's Act provides for the registration and inspection of "voluntary homes," i.e. homes or other institutions for the boarding, care, and maintenance of poor children or young persons, being homes or other institutions supported wholly or partly by voluntary contributions, but excluding institutions certified or approved by the Board of Control under the Mental Deficiency Acts, 1913 to 1927, unless children or young persons who are not mental defectives within the meaning of these Acts are received therein (Sec. 92). Persons in charge of voluntary Homes are required, subject to penalties, to send to the Secretary of State annually prescribed particulars with respect to the Homes (Sec. 93).

66. The Secretary of State may cause any voluntary Home to be inspected from time to time, unless it is, as a whole, otherwise subject to inspection by or under the authority of a Government Department (Sec. 94). The Secretary of State, if satisfied that the welfare of the children and young persons in a voluntary Home is endangered, may serve upon the managers such directions as he thinks expedient for the welfare of the children and young persons in the Home. If such directions are not complied with, a court of summary jurisdiction may, on the complaint of any person appointed for the purpose by the Secretary of State, make an order for the removal of all children and young persons from the Home (Sec. 95).

67. The Home Office state in evidence that it has never been found necessary to operate the procedure prescribed in Section 95 of the Act, but that the existence of the power has greatly strengthened the hands of inspectors in dealing with unsatisfactory Homes. Since the date of the Act, four Homes have closed down under pressure from the Home Office.

68. At 31st March, 1945, there were 886 voluntary homes registered with the Home Office. The number of children under 17 in them was 33,500, viz., 17,700 boys and 15,800 girls. Approximately 50 Homes were inspectable by the Ministry of Education as special schools for handicapped children, 2 by the Board of Control under the Mental Deficiency Acts, 375 by the Ministry of Health under the Poor Law Act, and 459 by the Home Office. 471 Homes are managed by the large national societies, each of which has a

central committee of management and local committees for most of the branches. 324 Homes are managed solely by local committees, and 91 are not managed by a committee. 736 Homes are attached to some religious denomination, viz., Church of England 392, Free Churches 185, Roman Catholic 130, Jewish 29; 150 are undenominational. About half the Homes are general in character, taking in children of all ages and keeping them until they are independent; the rest are specialised in one way or another, e.g. training Homes, probation Homes and hostels, mother and baby Homes, Homes for handicapped children.

69. Homes not wholly or partially supported by voluntary contributions, e.g. fully endowed Homes, are outside the scope of the provisions of the 1933 Act and are accordingly subject to no public control or supervision unless they receive Poor Law children, or mentally defective children, or are special schools for handicapped children, in which case they are inspected by the appropriate Department. We have been unable to obtain any satisfactory evidence of the number of such Homes or the numbers of children in them. In a later section of this report we make certain recommendations concerning these Homes.

CHILDREN MAINTAINED FOR REWARD

70. The Public Health Act, 1936 (Sects. 206-220) and the Public Health (London) Act, 1936 (Sects. 256-272) make provision for the protection of "foster children", i.e. children under nine years of age who are "nursed and maintained by any person for reward apart from their parents, or having no parents." (References in the following paragraphs are to the relevant sections of the Public Health Act, 1936.) Any person undertaking such nursing and maintenance for reward must notify the welfare authority before the child is received, not less than seven days beforehand for the first child so received and not less than 48 hours beforehand for any subsequent child. "Reward" includes money or money's worth and is irrespective of profit (Sec. 206). A person maintaining a "foster child" must give at least seven days notice of any change of residence, and if he moves into the area of another welfare authority, he must give notice to both authorities. In case of an emergency move, the notice may be given within 48 hours after the change of residence. Notice must be given to the welfare authority and to the person from whom the child was received within 24 hours after the death of a "foster child" or his removal from the care of the foster parent (Sec. 207).

71. Welfare authorities are required to inquire from time to time whether any persons residing in their area undertake the care of foster children, and if so, either to appoint child protection visitors or authorise other suitable persons (one at least of whom must be a woman) to visit and satisfy themselves as to the health and well-being of the children and give any necessary advice or directions as to the care of their health and their maintenance. A philanthropic society may be authorised to exercise these powers in respect of any children placed out by the society and must, in that case, furnish periodical reports to the welfare authority. The child protection visitor or other authorised person has the right of entry to any premises where foster children are kept or where he has reason to believe that they are being kept (Sec. 209).

72. The welfare authority may fix the maximum number of children under nine years who may be kept in any premises in which a foster child is kept and may impose conditions where a specified number of such children is exceeded (Sec. 211). If a foster child is about to be received or is being kept in overcrowded, insanitary or dangerous premises, or by persons unfit to have the care of the child, in contravention of any of the provisions of the Act, or in an environment detrimental to the child, a court of summary jurisdiction may, on the application of the welfare authority, order his removal

to a "place of safety" until other arrangements can be made; in emergency a Justice may make the order on the application of a visitor or other authorised person (Sec. 212).

73. Exemption from the child life protection provisions extends to—

- (i) children cared for by relatives or legal guardians;
- (ii) persons undertaking the care of children boarded out under the Poor Law or Children and Young Persons Acts;
- (iii) schools, hospitals or homes maintained by a Government Department, local authority or body constituted by special Act of Parliament or incorporated by Royal Charter;
- (iv) schools, hospitals or homes exempted by certificate of the welfare authority;
- (v) mental defectives in institutions or elsewhere who come within the purview of the Board of Control.

The welfare authority also has certain powers of partial exemption in special cases (Sec. 219).

74. The "welfare authority" for the purposes of the Public Health Act, 1936 is—

- (i) In a county borough, the county borough council;
- (ii) In a county district, the council, whether of the county or the district who immediately before the commencement of the Act were the local authority for the purpose of the Notification of Births Acts, 1907 and 1915.

Where in any county district the welfare authority is not the local education authority for elementary education, the Minister of Health may, by order, declare that the latter authority shall be the welfare authority in lieu of the former.

75. The authorities concerned with the child life protection service are the authorities who administer the maternity and child welfare services, and the work of the child protection visitor is normally entrusted to the Health Visitors, who are generally State Registered Nurses who have had special training in health education. The work of the welfare authorities, including the child life protection work, is carried out under the general supervision of the women inspectors of the Ministry of Health, who are State Registered Nurses and Certified Midwives and generally hold a Health Visitor's Certificate. The women inspectors, unlike the local authority's child protection visitors, have no statutory right of entry to foster homes.

76. At the end of 1944 there were 14,213 children under the supervision of welfare authorities in England and Wales in accordance with the Child Life Protection provisions of the Public Health Act. Of these 1,811 were in voluntary Homes or institutions not exempted under the Act and 1,709 in residential nurseries run for profit.

CHILDREN PLACED FOR ADOPTION

77. Legal adoption was introduced into this country by the Adoption of Children Act, 1926, which was based on the recommendations of the Child Adoption Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Tomlin. Applications for adoption orders can be made at the option of the applicant to the High Court, County Court or Juvenile Court (Sec. 8(1)). An adoption Order is irrevocable but an adopted child can be readopted either by its parents or by a third party (Sec. 7). Applications are dealt with in private and Rules made by the Lord Chancellor prescribe the procedure in each type of Court. Every Court must appoint some person or body to act as guardian *ad litem* with the duty of safeguarding the interests of the child before the Court, and for that purpose investigating as fully as possible all the circumstances of

the child and the applicant and all other matters relevant to the proposed adoption. A local authority may, with its consent, be appointed guardian *ad litem*.

Interim Orders

78. The Court may postpone determination of an adoption application by making an interim order. This gives the custody of the child to the applicant for not more than two years by way of a probationary period. An interim order cannot be made without all the consents required for an adoption order (Sec. 6).

Registration of Adoptions

79. Every adoption order is registered in the Adopted Children Register at the General Register Office. A certified copy of an entry in the Adopted Children Register (which does not show the birth name of the child or its parentage) serves as evidence of adoption and of date of birth (where known) as though it were a certified copy of an entry in the Register of Births.

Adoption Societies and Agencies

80. The Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act, 1939, was based on the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies under the chairmanship of Miss Florence Horsbrugh. In view of the outbreak of war its operation was postponed by the Postponement of Enactments (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1939, and it was not brought into force until the 1st June, 1943. The Act prohibits any body of persons other than a registered adoption society or local authority from making arrangements for adoptions and provides for the regulation of the work of registered adoption societies. It also provides for the supervision of children under 9 who are placed for adoption through the agency of a third party but arrangements for adoption made direct between a child's parent or guardian and an adopter in this country are not affected. The Act also prohibits adoption advertisements by individuals, regulates the sending of children abroad for adoption, and prohibits the giving or receiving of money in connection with adoption, except with the consent of the court.

81. A body of persons, other than a local authority, may not make arrangements for adoptions unless registered with the county or county borough council for the area in which their administrative centre is situated (Sec. 1 (1)). Only charitable associations may be so registered (Sec. 2 (2)). Registration may be refused or cancelled on the ground that the activities of the society are not controlled by a committee of members responsible to the members of the society, or that any person proposed to be employed or employed for the purpose of making arrangements for adoption is not a fit and proper person to be so employed, or that the number of competent persons proposed to be employed or employed is insufficient having regard to the extent of the activities of the society, or that any person taking part in the management or control of the society or any member of it has been convicted of an offence under the Act. Societies have the right of appeal against refusal, or cancellation of registration (Sec. 3). After registration the authority is entitled to inspect the books of the society and to be given information to enable them to decide whether registration should be cancelled (Sec. 5).

82. The Adoption Society Regulations, 1943, prescribe the information to be given by an adoption society to a parent or guardian who proposes to place a child at the disposal of the society (Regulation 3 and Second Schedule), and the points on which enquiry must be made and reports obtained in the case of every child proposed to be delivered by or on behalf of a registered adoption society into the care and possession of an adopter (Regulations 4 and 5 and Third Schedule). Regulation 7 requires adoption societies to make adequate arrangements for care and supervision of children placed by their parents or guardians in the care of the society, and to visit in the first month,

and thereafter at least once in every three months, every such child who is not living under the direct control of the society and is not subject to visits by the local welfare authority.

"Third Party" Arrangements

83. Under Section 7 of the Act any person who, not being the parent or guardian of the child or the person in whose care and possession he is to be placed, participates in the arrangements for placing a child under 9 must give seven days' notice in writing to the welfare authority. Thereafter, until a legal adoption order is obtained, the child and the home in which he is placed are subject to broadly the same degree of supervision with the same powers of inspection and removal, etc., as are provided, in the case of the child under 9 maintained for reward, by the Child Life Protection provisions of the Public Health Act (see paragraphs 70-76 above), and the work is generally carried out by the child protection visitors of the welfare authority. Any adopter or other person giving or receiving remuneration or reward in connection with any "third party" adoption arrangements is guilty of an offence.

Numbers

84. The number of legal adoptions between the passing of the Adoption of Children Act, 1926, and the end of 1945 was 127,189, the number in the last year being 16,357, of which approximately 4,000 were effected through registered adoption societies. At the end of 1944 there were 2,441 children under the supervision of welfare authorities as having been placed for adoption by third parties.

HANDICAPPED CHILDREN EDUCATED AWAY FROM HOME

85. The Education Act, 1944, makes provision for the care of children who, by reason of physical or mental handicaps, are obliged for educational reasons to live elsewhere than in their own homes. By Section 8 (2) (c) local education authorities are required to provide, either in special schools or otherwise, special educational treatment for (educable) pupils suffering from any disability of mind or body. Section 33 empowers the Minister of Education to make regulations defining the categories of pupils requiring special educational treatment, making provision as to the special methods appropriate for the education of pupils of each category, and as to the approval of schools as special schools. Section 34 requires local education authorities to ascertain what children in their area require special educational treatment, and to provide such treatment.

86. The Handicapped Pupils and School Health Service Regulations, 1945, made by the Minister of Education, define the categories of pupils requiring special educational treatment and prescribe the modes of education to be provided. Blind, deaf, physically handicapped, epileptic and aphasic children must be educated in special schools, which in the case of the blind and epileptic children must be boarding schools. Other classes of handicapped children may be educated in ordinary schools where certain prescribed conditions are fulfilled. The Regulations prescribe the conditions for approval of special schools, e.g., minimum number of pupils, maximum size of classes, qualifications of staff, etc. They also provide for the approval by the Minister of boarding homes and for the inspection by the local authority at least once a term of foster homes in which handicapped pupils are boarded out; for the latter purpose local authorities are advised in a covering circular to employ, if possible, trained social workers or school nurses with health visitor qualifications.

87. A number of the special schools recognized by the Ministry of Education are conducted in hospitals or sanatoria where children are undergoing prolonged treatment, and the Regulations provide for the modification, with the Minister's approval, of the standard conditions to meet the special circumstances of the hospital regime. Residential special schools are in general

inspected by the inspectors of the Ministry of Education on both the educational and domestic sides, but hospital and sanatorium schools in which the general regime is under the control of the hospital authority are inspected only on the educational side.

88. According to the latest information available to the Ministry of Education there are approximately 14,500 children in residential special schools in England and Wales, 6,300 being in schools provided by local education authorities and 8,200 in schools provided by voluntary bodies.

MENTALLY DISORDERED AND MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

89. The care and treatment of persons suffering from mental illness in England and Wales are governed by the provisions of the Lunacy and Mental Treatment Acts, 1890 to 1930, and the Mental Treatment Rules, 1930. Patients dealt with under these provisions are accommodated in public mental hospitals, registered hospitals, licensed houses, nursing homes, Poor Law institutions, and public hospitals and in single care (in private houses).

90. The care of the mentally defective in England and Wales is governed by the provisions of the Mental Deficiency Acts, 1913 to 1938, and the Mental Deficiency Regulations, 1935. Mental defectives dealt with under these provisions are accommodated in certified institutions provided by local authorities, approved public assistance institutions, certified houses, and approved homes, and under individual guardianship.

91. Responsibility for the administration of the Lunacy and Mental Treatment Acts and Mental Deficiency Acts rests with the Board of Control, consisting of a chairman and four senior Commissioners appointed by the Crown, and responsible to the Lord Chancellor and the Minister of Health. The Board supervises the observance of the statutory requirements in connection with the reception, detention, treatment and discharge of mental patients and the protection and control of defectives. In particular, it provides for the periodic visitation by visiting commissioners of every hospital and institution in which mental patients or defectives are accommodated and of every mental defective under guardianship. Councils of counties and county boroughs are required to provide for the care of persons of unsound mind and mental defectives in their areas; administration is carried out through visiting committees and committees for the mentally defective.

92. The number of known children of unsound mind (lunatics) is relatively small. The majority are in public mental hospitals where there were about 400 in 1945. The number in public assistance institutions and public health hospitals is not known to the Board of Control who receive no records although they visit and inspect.

93. The children dealt with under the Mental Deficiency Acts are those who are incapable of receiving education in a school, educable children being the responsibility of the education authorities. Section 57 of the Education Act, 1944, places upon local education authorities the duty of notifying the local authority for the purposes of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913, of any child over two years of age found to be incapable, by reason of disability of mind, of receiving education at school. A similar notification is required to be given before the attainment of school-leaving age of any school-child who by reason of disability of mind appears to require supervision after leaving school. Considerable numbers of certified mentally defective children are in public assistance establishments approved for the reception of defectives by the Board of Control under Section 37 of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913. We are informed that this is a temporary measure due to the lack of sufficient accommodation in certified institutions. There is also an unknown number of uncertified mentally defective children in such establishments, also in

workhouses not approved for the reception of defectives and in children's Homes; these children are not subject to visitation by the commissioners or inspectors of the Board of Control.

94. The following table shows the numbers of certified mentally defective children under care at 1st January, 1946.

TABLE III

In the State Institution	...	...	...	...	...	24
In Local Authority Certified Institutions	...	...	...	...	5,817	
In Approved Public Assistance Institutions	...	...	...	...	1,153	
In Certified Homes	...	...	...	...	29	
In Approved Homes	...	...	...	...	279	
Under Guardianship	...	...	...	...	210	
						7,512

CHILDREN ORPHANED BY THE WAR

95. The War Orphans Act, 1942, applying and extending the provisions of Section 9 of the War Pensions (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1918, makes it the duty of the Ministry of Pensions to provide for the care of children for whom pensions or allowances are payable in respect of the death of a parent in the war and who are suffering from neglect or want of proper care. This duty continues until the child attains the age of 21, although the pension or allowance may, and generally does, cease before that age. By Section 76 of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, a child for whose care it is the duty of the Minister of Pensions to provide may, by order of the Court, be committed to his care or to the care of a person appointed by him. The Minister also has power, under the Royal Warrants, to administer pensions payable in respect of any children, i.e., to apply them in any manner he thinks fit for the benefit of the children concerned.

96. As regards the great majority of the orphaned children for whose care the Minister has to provide, the arrangements are confined to the visiting of the homes to advise and assist the de facto guardians regarding the child's health, welfare, education and employment, and to co-operation with school teachers and employers. Some 3,200 children are being supervised in this way. A further 850 children are supervised in their own homes because of unsatisfactory home circumstances which necessitate a pension being administered by the Minister.

97. Entire custody had, at the date of our enquiry, been assumed by the Minister in the case of 411 children by committal under Section 76 of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, or at the instance of local authorities who had assumed parental rights by resolution under Section 52 of the Poor Law Act, 1930, or by the Minister's own powers under the War Orphans Act, 1942. With the exception of 11 children placed in institutional accommodation for special reasons these children were all boarded out with selected foster parents. The children are provided with a complete outfit of clothes and the foster homes are regularly visited to ensure the welfare of the children. For the purpose of carrying out his responsibilities towards the children for whose supervision he has to provide, the Minister employs 18 whole time Regional Children's Officers (all women) working under the direction of a Children's Branch at the Headquarters of the Ministry.

SUMMARY OF EXISTING ARRANGEMENTS

98. We are now in a position to give a summary description of the very complicated position revealed in the foregoing paragraphs of our Report. Responsibility for providing or supervising the substitute home for the

deprived child may be taken by the State, by local authorities, by voluntary organisations or by private persons. The State through the Ministry of Health supervises the work of local authorities in caring for destitute children under the Poor Law. Such children may, however, be accepted by voluntary Homes independently of any public authority, in which case, if the voluntary organisations concerned receive subscriptions from the public, the State, through the Home Office, brings them under inspection; or it may do so through the Ministry of Health if that Department "certifies" the Homes as suitable for Poor Law children or if Poor Law children are received in them. If the voluntary organisations receive no public subscriptions, and do not take in Poor Law children their Homes may, if they take children under 9 years of age "for reward," be visited by the welfare authority's child protection visitors; otherwise, they may come under no public supervision at all. Children under 9 years of age "fostered" for reward, or placed by private persons (not the parents or guardians) for adoption, are supervised by local authorities under the direction of the Minister of Health through the child life protection service. Those over 9 received for reward and those for whose maintenance no reward is given are not the care of any public authority. Children removed from their homes by order of a Juvenile Court may, if "committed to," and accepted by the local authority as a "fit person," be entitled to full parental care and guardianship from the authority; normally this responsibility is exercised by boarding the child out under rules laid down by the Home Office, but if there is difficulty in finding a foster home, the child may be left in a public assistance institution, in which case the Ministry of Health is concerned. Other children removed from their homes by Court order may be in approved schools for remedial training or in remand homes awaiting a decision of the Court, in which case, though the local authority (or a voluntary organisation) may provide the institution, the Home Office is directly and closely concerned with its regulation and management. War orphans committed to the care of the Minister of Pensions are the direct charge of the Ministry and are generally placed in foster homes and supervised by officers of the central department. These officers also supervise children in private care who are receiving war pensions. The groups of children we have enumerated are assumed to be physically and mentally normal. Then there are the mentally disordered, or the mentally defective and ineducable, who should be in local authority or voluntary institutions inspected by the Board of Control; the retarded and educationally handicapped, and the physically defective, also divided between local authority and voluntary establishments, and inspected by the Ministry of Education.

99. It will be observed that not only does the responsible department vary, but so does the closeness of State direction and control. In some cases, e.g. the "fostered" children, it is remote. At the other end of the scale there are the war orphans, in whose case it is immediate. Between the two there are several shades of difference. With local authorities, too, the degree of responsibility may vary. The care of destitute children under the Poor Law is laid upon them clearly by statute; but when children are removed from their homes as in need of care or protection it is open to the authority to refuse to accept the charge of them. There are reasons, historical and other, for these differences, and some of them are good, and correspond to a genuine difference in circumstances. But it would not be difficult to find children similar in type and circumstance whose treatment has been quite different merely because they have been dealt with by different departments under different statutes. Table IV on page 27 shows the classification of the deprived children whose care is now provided for by statute or by administrative machinery, the agencies responsible for their care and the types of home in which they are placed.

TABLE IV

Statistical Summary

Children Deprived of a Normal Home Life

SECTION II

HOW THE CHILDREN ARE CARED FOR NOW

INTRODUCTION

100. Between our fortnightly meetings for the hearing of evidence and for discussion, a great deal of our time has been taken up in examining for ourselves the different types of care given to children deprived of normal home life. In order to do this we divided ourselves into groups, each of which was responsible for visiting a number of counties in England and Wales and for the examination in each area of some of the methods of caring for children in the charge of local authorities and voluntary societies. In all we visited 41 counties.

101. Lists of Homes and other institutions under inspection by the Government Departments were supplied to us; we also made inquiries in the area and frequently received from members of the public information about Homes which were considered to fall below the required standard. We gave no notice of our visits to Homes and while on a few occasions we found that we were expected, as a general rule it was obvious that the visit was a surprise. It is perhaps a measure of the interest taken by the staff of Homes in the care of children as a calling that a large number had not heard of the appointment of a Committee to inquire into these questions. In no case was there the slightest attempt to hinder us from visiting or from seeing whatever we wanted to see. When the reason for our visit was fully understood we received the greatest assistance and co-operation from officials and staff. We were at all times free to go wherever we wished and to talk freely and alone with members of the staff and the children. We were only able to visit each Home once and had to take them as we found them, so that we were not usually able to meet all the staff and the children. We did however visit enough Homes to provide a good sample of each kind of care. A much more searching inquiry would have been necessary if we had intended to give a judicial opinion on the merits of any establishment and we have therefore thought it right not to mention any one of them by name in this Report.

102. In a number of areas we were able to visit individual foster homes in which children had been boarded out. These were picked at random from a list supplied a day or two beforehand by the official concerned. We met on this side of our work the most complete confidence and friendliness. In a number of homes there was a more real appreciation of the purpose of our visit when it was explained than we found in the institutional Homes. In some areas we paid a few visits in company with the boarding out visitor as well as visiting alone. As a rule not more than one Committee member visited any one foster home.

103. Before or after seeing the actual care given to the children in the area we arranged, whenever possible, a conference with the Education, Public Assistance and Public Health authorities to discuss any matters of interest or difficulties which we had noted. These discussions were, we believe, valuable to the authorities as well as to ourselves, since they gave an opportunity of testing the arrangements for supervision in a practical way.

104. In this way we were able to assess the care given to some 30,000 children whom we saw living away from their homes, and to form some judgment of the well being and happiness of such children in the country as a whole.

105. For the purposes of this Section of our Report we have made a preliminary note on local authority administration and then described the different types of care which we examined under headings as follows: Children in Workhouses; Public Assistance Homes, Public Assistance Nurseries and Public Health Nurseries; Homes Managed by Voluntary Organisations; Hostels for Working Boys and Girls and Probation Hostels; Approved Schools; Remand Homes; Homes and Institutions for Handicapped Children; Boarding Out. In each case the same points were noted by the members of visiting groups so that it has been possible to make some final comparison of the different types of care. Every effort was made to check our impressions by such means as questions and discussions with staff and children, with old boys and girls and by local opinion. The observations and conclusions here set out are based only on our own experience but we have been interested to see from inspectors' reports at a later date how often our impressions had been shared by other visitors. We think we have seen a representative cross section of the various forms of care, and that our visits have enabled us to see for ourselves illustrations of the main varieties of the upbringing of children in residential Homes and private families. We realise that there are certain features of the lives of children which could not be finally judged without a more intimate and prolonged association with the children and those in charge of them. Nevertheless, we found that we were increasingly able to judge from the attitude of the children towards visitors, from their appearance and general ease and confidence, whether the care was of the kind in which children could thrive. Questions such as the provision for leisure, the suitability of buildings and the adequacy of records were relatively easy to judge.

LOCAL AUTHORITY ADMINISTRATION OF CHILDREN'S CARE

106. When visiting children's Homes in any area it was usual for members of the Committee to obtain a statement from county or county borough officials indicating the administrative arrangements for the area. These arrangements were discussed with the chief officials concerned. Our observations are, therefore, based on written and verbal information received from responsible senior officials and on what we saw of the working of the administrative system when visiting the institutions and Homes.

Counties

107. The administration of workhouses and children's Homes is necessarily different in counties and county boroughs because in counties there are Guardians Committees which undertake certain duties in connection with the administration of Homes on behalf of the Public Assistance Committee. These Guardians Committees are sub-committees of the County Public Assistance Committee and have sometimes a good deal of local autonomy. We found that workhouses were almost always looked after by the local Guardians Committee. In regard to the children's Homes the practice varied. In some instances, no control appeared to be exercised by any central committee and although the Public Assistance Committee was nominally responsible, the supervision of the various Homes seemed to have been left almost entirely to the local Guardians Committees, acting usually through one or more sub-committees. In other counties there was a special sub-committee of the Public Assistance Committee, which was responsible on behalf of that Committee for the administration of all the children's Homes in the county. It seemed to us that there was an increasing tendency towards this arrangement. It was, however, still a usual practice for even such sub-committees to act through the local Guardians Committee rather than direct. In those instances where there were nurseries

attached to workhouses their supervision and management was undertaken by the Guardians Committee, through a sub-committee which was responsible for the workhouses.

108. An example of central control is a county where a Management Committee is appointed by the Public Assistance Committee to administer, not only the children's Homes but all Public Assistance establishments in the county. This Management Committee is made up of persons nominated by the various Guardians Committees, certain members of the Public Assistance Committee, and members appointed by the Public Assistance Committee from outside its own body. The Homes and institutions are visited by members of the Management Committee on a rota system.

109. As an illustration of the different methods which are sometimes adopted in the same county, an instance may be given of the arrangements in one county where one large group of Cottage Homes is managed centrally by a Children's Sub-Committee of the Public Assistance Committee, as these Homes happen to be situated in the county town, but each of the other Homes in the county is managed by the local Guardians Committee. The central Children's Homes Sub-Committee does, however, appear to exercise some general control of policy in regard to the Homes generally.

110. Another course is adopted in a county where each Home is administered by a Children's Sub-Committee of the Guardians Committee, or by a sub-committee which also administers one or more public assistance institutions, but uniformity in administration is achieved through a central Children's Sub-Committee of the county Public Assistance Committee which considers all matters relating to children, and deals with the recommendations made by the various Guardians Committees. This arrangement does therefore promote some uniformity which may be absent when there is no central committee.

111. Where there was no central supervisory committee, co-ordination appeared to depend on the degree to which the county Public Assistance officer could exercise his influence on the various Guardians Committees. In a large rural county we found some tendency on the part of the local Guardians Committees to resent suggestions or criticisms from the Public Assistance Committee. Strong resentment was also shown in one instance against an adverse report of the Ministry of Health Inspector on one of the Homes and it appeared, from the discussions at one meeting of which we saw a report, that the local committee felt quite able to manage its own affairs without "interference" either by the Public Assistance Committee or the Ministry of Health.

112. We visited only one county in which the functions of the Public Assistance Committee, in so far as they relate to children, were discharged by the Education Committee, though we understand that there are at least four others. In accordance with the provisions of the Poor Law Act, 1930, such delegation is "subject to the general direction and control of the Public Assistance Committee." In this county the Education Committee had appointed a special sub-committee, known as the Children's Care Sub-Committee, to carry out these duties—as well as the statutory duties arising from the committal of children and young persons to the care of the county council, under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933. The county was divided into areas for the purpose of boarding out children, a Boarding Out Committee being appointed for each area, and where there was a children's home in that particular area, the committee was augmented, if necessary, and supervised the Home on behalf of the Education Committee. The local committees administering the Homes met at each Home monthly.

113. In counties where the Homes were still administered by or on behalf of the Public Assistance Committee, through a Children's (or a Children's Homes) Sub-Committee, the visiting of the various Homes was usually undertaken by members of the appropriate Committee or Sub-committee under a rota system. In some instances the visits did not appear to have been as regular as would seem desirable, owing no doubt partly to war-time travelling difficulties. This Committee or Sub-Committee generally retained responsibility for the classification of the children, for routine consideration of individual cases and for the appointment of at least the senior members of staff. Where, on the other hand, responsibility for administration of Homes rested with the Guardians Committee the members appeared to be given considerable powers including the appointment of junior staff and responsibility for visiting the Homes.

114. In several instances we were told that the majority of members of Sub-Committees or Management Committees were women. In one area it was the custom to select women members of the Public Assistance Committee to sit on the Sub-Committee managing the Homes. In most areas there was provision for co-option.

115. Before the war it seems to have been usual for the Sub-Committees or Management Committees to meet at the various Homes in rotation and some members of staff regretted the discontinuance of this arrangement which had enabled them to keep in close touch with the Sub-Committee as a whole. Sometimes the staff in charge of Homes were asked to meet the Sub-Committee at headquarters. It was usual for the members individually to visit the various Homes in rotation but sometimes local visitors were appointed from outside the Committee. In one area the Management Committee was made up of members of the Public Assistance Committee and members of the Guardians Committees. Very much the same arrangements existed for the supervision of workhouses. Visits were paid by members in a rota system and meetings were held at each institution in turn.

County Boroughs

116. The position was more simple in county boroughs where there was usually only one group of children's Homes. The Public Assistance Committee was usually responsible for the detailed oversight of its own establishments and sometimes, we found, acted through Management Committees. It was more usual, however, for a Sub-Committee to be appointed either for each establishment or for a group of establishments. The Sub-Committees met at regular intervals. In some areas the staff was appointed by the Sub-Committee; in a few areas by the Public Assistance Committee. The Sub-Committees usually arranged for members to visit the workhouse and Home under a rota system.

117. In some Boroughs the responsibility for children's Homes had been delegated to the Public Health Committee or the Education Committee or both. The system in operation in one large city may be mentioned as illustrative of the arrangements generally prevailing when such an arrangement is in force. Here, the functions of the Public Assistance Committee, insofar as they relate to the care and maintenance of children were, generally speaking, discharged by the Public Health Committee and the Education Committee. A system of fortnightly "revision" of the children admitted to the various Homes was, however, undertaken by a sub-committee of the Public Assistance Committee. The two large groups of children's Homes were administered by the Education Committee. Although the delegation is "subject to the general direction and control of the Public Assistance Committee" it did not appear to us that the Public Assistance Committee interested

itself in these Homes; the Homes are said to be open to inspection both by the Education Committee and the Public Assistance Committee. Before the war it was the practice of a sub-committee of the Education Committee to hold meetings at the Homes. Since the war—and up to the date of our visit in June 1945—no meetings had been held at the Homes, but the Superintendent and Matron were invited to attend meetings of the sub-committee at the education office. Before the war members of the sub-committee visited the Homes monthly under a rota system, but since the outbreak of war visiting was undertaken by one member only. In fact, even monthly visits do not appear to have been carried out regularly. The residential nurseries were administered by the Public Health Committee.

118. In another city the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee was responsible for children under five and the Public Assistance Committee for older children. The children's Homes were a large group of cottage homes with a nursery. The Homes for older children were managed by a Children's Sub-Committee of the Public Assistance Committee which met monthly, either at the Council House or at the children's Home. The Homes were visited by members under a rota system. The nursery, although in the same grounds as the cottage homes, was administered by the Public Health Committee. A nursery school in conjunction with the nursery was the responsibility of the Education Committee.

Forms of Delegation

119. The intention of delegation had been to put an end to the separation of destitute children for whom the Public Assistance Committee was responsible from the children who were receiving residential care through other committees of the Council. But the fact that, whichever committee of the Council accepted immediate responsibility for them, the Public Assistance Committee was ultimately answerable for their welfare, seems to have meant that the advantages of delegation were often impaired not only by the administrative complications which resulted, but by more frequent changes of care than might have occurred if the same Committee of the Council had remained responsible throughout.

120. The various forms of administrative complication arising from delegation may be illustrated by a County Borough in which while the Education authority was directly responsible for the Cottage Homes the Public Assistance Committee retained ultimate responsibility for the Homes, which were closely connected with the workhouse under Public Assistance supervision and shared its medical services. Members of the two Committees appeared to be in constant argument. The child after infancy in the workhouse nursery might be moved for a short period to the Children's Homes, then to a residential nursery under the Public Health Committee and at 5 back to the Cottage Homes. Finally the Education authority might be responsible for his after care. During his childhood any contacts with his relations would be made through a special branch of the Public Assistance Department, except insofar as any relatives might visit him at the Homes. In this process of transfer from an establishment under one Committee of the Council to an establishment under another Committee continuity even of records of health, development and home conditions must have been difficult, if not impossible, to maintain, and this may have largely accounted for the inadequacy of the records which we found.

121. In some areas the Homes were managed by a joint Committee of the Public Assistance and Education Committees and of the Public Assistance and Public Health Committees. Delegation to an existing Committee was as a

rule less satisfactory than joint Committees. The Joint Committees provided a wider circle of people in contact with the Homes and led to higher standards in the care of the children.

122. In several areas where we discussed the relations between the various committees of the Council there was a clear realisation of the need for unification, so that it would no longer be possible for the homeless child to be transferred from one committee to another as he reached the various ages with which the several committees were concerned.

General Observations on Administration

123. We think it may be useful if we offer a few general observations on this aspect of our investigations:—

- (i) In counties the usual arrangements do not appear to achieve uniformity in administration of the children's Homes. Where administration is left largely to local Guardians Committees the standard of administration is generally lower than where there is co-ordination or where a varying degree of control is exercised by a central sub-committee of the Public Assistance Committee. It seems that in some counties there is little likelihood of a general improvement in the standard of care in children's Homes, until the powers of local Committees are limited to what may be described as friendly visiting of the various Homes, leaving policy and general control to a central committee or sub-committee of the authority. Each county Public Assistance Committee is responsible in law for administration throughout the county, but in some areas which were visited it seemed to us that the Public Assistance Committees tended to leave too much to local Guardians Committees, the members of which sometimes seemed to be still imbued with ideas generally prevailing before the Boards of Guardians were abolished. Although it seemed to us that central, rather than local, administration in a county achieved better results, much clearly depends on the attitude of members of the central committee.
- (ii) We were impressed with the value of members of local sub-committees who could undertake friendly visiting of the Homes in their area.
- (iii) Some county Public Assistance Committees seem to have been somewhat nervous of exercising their powers from fear of upsetting members of local Guardians Committees.
- (iv) Speaking generally we did not find a higher standard of administration of child care in those areas where the council had entrusted the supervision of Public Assistance children's Homes to the Education Committee.

Records

124. At the local authority institutions and children's Homes which we visited, we made inquiries about the type of records kept and were shown a number of examples. The general conclusion drawn from those we saw was, that apart from bare identifying facts (name, date of birth, etc.) religion, date of reception and discharge, and entries about health, no written information was given to those in charge of the children. In some instances a few facts had been given to the Matron of a children's Home over the telephone or by the escort to the Home. It was also generally true that, with the exception of certain entries regarding health, no written record was kept of the child's stay in the institution or Home; consequently no record of the child's development could be handed on when he left.

125. It seems likely that the following accounts by a visiting group, of records kept in institutions under one authority, are typical.

"The only record received or passed on is an 'identifying' and a medical record."

"Six two-year-old children had recently been admitted from another institution under this authority, and the matron found that they were suffering from scabies and impetigo, though no note of this fact had been sent to her at the time of their transfer, and it was impossible to isolate them with the accommodation at her disposal."

Another example:

"I ran through a list with the Master which had been provided by the Public Assistance officer, of children who had been received into the institution on a 'place of safety' order. He did not seem clear which of the children had been received in this category. . . . No records about the children other than the brief admission card and medical particulars are received here, though it is clear that the Matron and Master take trouble to get to know about the children by discussion."

126. We seldom found that Superintendents and Matrons of children's Homes were aware of, or regretted, the lack of information about the children in their care. In one or two instances we were told about the difficulty of dealing with children whose histories were unknown; these were exceptions. In one instance in which the Public Assistance Officer had given a good deal of information to the cottage mothers, one of them regretted that similar information was not given about the children for whom the local authority was acting (through the Education Committee) as "fit person," as they were often more difficult children. The fact that no case records are kept in institutions or Homes does not of course imply that no records are kept in the central offices of the Public Assistance department. We found that a great deal of information was filed in the office which was not communicated to those in charge. It would not be fair to judge the general adequacy of the records without a much more careful study of the case files of the Public Assistance Committee than we were able to carry out.

127. We heard one serious criticism of medical records from the medical officer of a workhouse who was also responsible for the medical supervision of the children's Homes. He said that in his area the children came into the Homes without a medical record so that he did not know whether a child had been immunised or whether there was risk of tuberculosis or venereal disease. No education history was available, so that even if the child had been recognised as defective the fact would not be known until he re-entered school. Another medical officer told us that one of the difficulties of treating children from Homes at the Child Guidance Clinic was the failure to provide the kind of history and description of the child's behaviour which was essential to the understanding and treatment of his difficulty.

128. In residential nurseries careful records were kept as a general practice with particulars about feeding and height and weight charts. This record almost always lapsed when the child became five years of age.

Boarding Out

129. As in the case of children's Homes, Public Assistance boarding out was in county areas usually supervised by the Guardians Committees, under the general authority of the Public Assistance Committee, while "fit person" work was undertaken by the Education Authority. In County Boroughs supervision was usually undertaken by the committee concerned or by one committee of the council acting for another or by a joint committee. We found

that in many areas each of the committees of the county or county borough councils was undertaking boarding out without co-ordination with any other committee. This separation of the boarding out services of the different departments of the local authorities provided an interesting example of the persistence of traditional methods in the face of the changing attitude of the public towards social services. It became very clear to us in the course of conversations with officials, that few local authorities had attempted to reconsider as a whole their functions and methods with regard to the children in their care, and that while before the war, the normal local government machinery had served to provide the necessary services, since the war it had become more and more inadequate to meet either the extent of the problem or the new standards of child care required. Most of the authorities seemed to be aware of failure to deal with the problem; some were concerned about it; even the most complacent had been given a jolt by recent publicity. In a number of areas there were plans for better co-ordination and for the improvement of procedure, but we could not help noticing that our visits were welcomed by some departments of local authorities as a means of discovering and commenting upon the practice of other departments. The authorities which had worked out some common programme for the care of children were few, and, even then, there was little provision for any effective personal co-operation.

130. There were two main ways in which boarding out under the three main committees of Public Health, Public Assistance and Education had been more closely co-ordinated. One of these consisted of passing over the responsibility for boarding out from one department to another. The other method was simply the sharing of a common staff, while each department retained its own responsibility. Instances of the first were the passing over of boarding out by the Public Assistance Committee to the Public Health or Education Committee or both: or the passing over of the comparatively new boarding out duties of the Education Committee to the old machinery of the Public Assistance Committee. An example of the method of sharing visitors between the three committees was found in a rural county. Welfare officers were appointed jointly and acted for all three committees through a joint committee, combining the visits of the Health and Child Protection Visitors to children under 9 and the visits of the local members of the Guardians Committees in the case of children in the care of the Public Assistance Committee. This arrangement was favoured by the Education department but accepted with reluctance by the Public Assistance department. In a neighbouring county a similar plan was followed but the joint visitors in each case reported to separate committees and followed different regulations. In another area boarding out was undertaken by a joint committee drawn from members of the Education Committee and the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee. The Superintendent of the Homes who was also Master of the Workhouse was appointed by the Public Assistance Committee, and the boarding out visitors by the Education Committee. In a County Borough there had been since 1930 an arrangement under which Public Assistance children under three were passed to the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee and over three to the Education Committee. The Education Committee dealt with these children and with others committed to it as "fit person" through a Children's Care Sub-Committee to which members were co-opted who were not necessarily members of the Public Assistance Committee. The sub-Committee managed children's Homes as well as boarding out. In a County area the converse applied and the Public Assistance Committee administered for itself and the Education Committee the whole of the boarding out arrangements through a Public Assistance Sub-Committee for Homes and boarding out.

131. There was no doubt that the boarding out services as a whole in county or county borough areas suffered from the splitting up of the children into groups which came, often arbitrarily, under different provisions of the law. One of the great difficulties in the way of co-ordination was, we found, a traditional inter-departmental antagonism which was sometimes thinly veiled by changes in organisation. Thus in an area where certain functions of the Public Assistance Committee had been taken over by the Education Committee, the medical officer of the Public Assistance department, who remained responsible for the health of the children, described the Education department as "a soulless body" compared with the old poor law administration. An Education department was inclined to belittle a Public Assistance department which in turn considered that the Education department showed an increasing tendency to "poach" the functions of the Public Assistance Committee. In another area in which the three committees shared the services of welfare workers the Public Assistance Officer urged the special assignment of one of the welfare workers to the Public Assistance department because of the antagonism of the Public Assistance Committee to the new arrangement. These old jealousies are partly due to the fact that in many areas the same officials continue to be responsible for new services and partly to the difficult conditions governing expenditure and employment which during the seventeen years since the passing of the Local Government Act, 1929, has discouraged re-organisation. We came across an example of departmentalism in its worst form while visiting an Institution for Mental Defectives to which, we were told, a visitor had been sent from an Education Authority to a Midland town ("after the Gough case") to see one boy. There were at the time sixteen boys there in the care of the Public Assistance department of the same authority but the visitor was not interested in seeing them.

132. Whatever the administrative scheme it was comparatively rare to find the responsible committee co-opting suitable additional members from within or without the council. In one case we were told that co-option did not appeal to members as it might involve limited power with no responsibility for co-opted members. It seemed to us unfortunate that qualified people with leisure to take an interest in children's work should not be asked to help in a Children's Sub-Committee. Our experience of the present procedure shows (1) that it is difficult for the ordinary councillor to spare sufficient time to serve on such a sub-Committee; (2) that mothers bringing up families find it difficult to give the time which a seat on the council involves but might be willing to act as co-opted members of a single committee; (3) that the members of committees elected in the usual way tend to average at least 60 years of age and co-option would provide the opportunity for bringing in younger people. We found an example of a committee, not regarded as helpful, of which the average age of members was 70.

133. An interesting feature of the present boarding out arrangements is the transfer of children from one local authority area to another, and it was clear that this transfer presented special problems. There is the added complication at the present time that some evacuated children who cannot return to their own homes remain in foster homes in the reception area. A usual reason for the transfer is the need to place at a distance from their homes children who have been taken from parents unfit to have charge of them. Other reasons are the desirability of rural surroundings and the fact that foster homes are more easily found in some areas than others.

134. There was a great variety of practice with regard to the transfer of responsibility for investigation and supervision. Sometimes the whole responsibility was transferred to the "receiving" authorities, the "sending"

authority only requiring routine reports. Sometimes the sending authority retained responsibility and might not even notify the receiving authority that they were seeking homes and placing children. A compromise was often reached in other areas where the receiving authority accepted supervision but where check visits were made from time to time by the sending authority. We found great difference of opinion between departments of the same area about the best arrangement. In some areas where responsibility was transferred, the transfer was arranged by the clerks of the respective councils and the visitor undertaking supervision did not always know which department of the sending authority was responsible for the child. We were given one example of a group of children who had been transferred from one county to another and were supervised by the Public Assistance Committee of the receiving area because it was thought that the children came from the Public Assistance department of the sending authority. A Ministry of Health Inspector visited all the foster homes. It was later found that these children were the responsibility of the Education department as "fit person." We were told of the concern of some officials about the placing of children in their area by other authorities, without consultation about the standard of the home selected, and we were given instances of the use of homes by sending authorities which had previously been rejected for local use.

135. Similarly the methods of investigation, supervision, payment, medical arrangements and qualifications of supervisors varied, not only as between area and area, but as between departments of the same local authority. Thus we often came across instances where the Education department and the Public Assistance department in the same area were paying to foster parents in the same village different rates of maintenance, pocket money and clothing; where one department was employing trained visitors and the other used its office staff; where requirements as to investigation of the foster home, the frequency of visits and the medical care varied not only because of the differences in the regulations laid down by different Government departments but because of the custom of the committee concerned. The failure in co-operation between committees of the same area is perhaps best illustrated by the unfortunate results which may occur where one possesses information which is not available to the other: as for instance had occurred in one area where a child, who had been on the tuberculosis register of the Public Health department, was later placed by the Education Committee in a foster home which was considered unsuitable by the medical officer of health.

Details of the actual methods of boarding out which we found in the areas visited will be found in paragraphs 347-381.

CHILDREN IN WORKHOUSES

136. Under this heading are grouped all institutions ("workhouses") managed by Public Assistance departments of local authorities, in which children are cared for as part of the responsibility of those who are also responsible for the care of destitute adults. Although in most of these establishments the children are living in part of a building used for adults, some are included in which separate, though generally closely connected, accommodation is provided, the senior staff of the institution having the final responsibility for the administration of the children's unit. The separate buildings are usually Receiving Homes or Nurseries.

137. We visited 32 public assistance institutions of this type in the areas of different local authorities. The visits were not selected altogether at random. We chose for the most part those which were on the official lists as undertaking the care of infant children; in other instances we made inquiries when

in the area whether there were children in the institution at the time. Some of us called at institutions not brought to our attention in other ways in order to find out whether there were older children in them. When we had reason to suspect from local reports that the care given was not satisfactory we made a special point of visiting so that it is possible that more instances of unsatisfactory care have been seen and less instances where the care was satisfactory. It should also be borne in mind that single visits to Public Assistance institutions, where the population often varies from week to week, do not always present a true picture of prevailing conditions.

138. The healthy children over the age of 3 to be found in workhouses should, under the present law, be limited to those received there temporarily or as an emergency measure (see Section I, paragraph 23). We found however many older children who had been there for longer than the permitted six weeks. Conferences with local authorities threw some light upon the difficulties in different areas. In some badly bombed areas, for example, temporary provision which was regarded by the authorities themselves as unsatisfactory had had to be made. It was clear that in some areas the workhouse served as a dumping ground for children who could not readily be disposed of elsewhere, and that in some districts where children's Homes provided insufficient accommodation, or boarding out had not been well developed, older children, for whom there had never been any properly planned accommodation, were looked after in the workhouse for a considerable length of time. In some instances this caused embarrassment to an already over-worked and unsuitable staff, in buildings where segregation was a physical impossibility. Shortage of staff may affect more seriously children in establishments which are not designed for them. Even where some attempt had been made to segregate children from adult inmates of questionable habits there were some institutions in which, because of shortage of staff, children were being minded by aged inmates and by cleaners, or were simply placed in a ward with senile old men or women to be looked after by the nurse on duty. In many other institutions although the physical care was fairly adequate, the staff, the buildings, and the equipment were such that it was impossible to provide an environment in which children could thrive, and it could certainly not be said that these children were being compensated for the lack of normal home care.

139. Many of the institutions served not only for "reception" (i.e. cleansing and emergency care), and for hospital treatment for children over the age of 3, but also provided for healthy children received under "place of safety" orders, as defective, or simply on the order of the relieving officer as destitute. They were sometimes admitted as children in need of care or protection, pending their appearance in Court, or awaiting placement after their committal to the care of the local authority as a "fit person"; some of them were awaiting boarding out or placement in a children's Home, or they had been brought back from either place for a change of plan when for some reason the arrangement made for them had broken down.

140. An example of this kind of motley collection was found in one century-old Poor Law institution providing accommodation for 170 adults, including ordinary workhouse accommodation, an infirmary for senile old people and a few men and women certified as either mentally defective or mentally disordered. In this institution there were twenty-seven children, aged six months to fifteen years. Twelve infants up to the age of eighteen months were the children of women in the institution, about half of them still being nursed by their mothers. In the same room in which these children were being cared for was a Mongol idiot, aged four, of gross appearance,

for whom there was apparently no accommodation elsewhere. A family of five normal children, aged about six to fifteen, who had been admitted on a relieving officer's order, had been in the institution for ten weeks. This family, including a boy of ten and a girl of fifteen, were sleeping in the same room as a three year old hydrocephalic idiot, of very unsightly type, whose bed was screened off in the corner. The fifteen year old girl had been employed in the day-time dusting the women's infirmary ward. These children had been admitted in the middle of the night when their mother had left them under a hedge after eviction from their house. No plan appeared to have been made for them. Another family of three children, aged eight to twelve, were sleeping with the toddlers in the "nursery" part of the building. They had been brought into the institution on a "place of safety" order. We were told in the education and public assistance offices that their case was shortly to be considered with a view to further action, but they had already been in the workhouse for four months. We were told in another county that in some of the institutions of this area there was nowhere to put the older children to sleep except in the adult wards. Children had occasionally been sent back to the homes in which they had been neglected because it was thought better for them than the conditions under which they would have had to be cared for in the workhouse.

Accommodation

141. In few of these institutions have any structural alterations been made to the buildings for the purpose of giving suitable care to children of "toddler" age or over. For the most part the children are housed in large gaunt looking buildings with dark stairways and corridors, high windows and unadapted baths and lavatories. The best had been made of these forbidding buildings in a few of the institutions we visited, where admirable efforts had been made with use of paint and pictures to brighten the rooms in which the children slept, and played. In others the traditional chocolate and buff paint remained, with bare boards and draughts, and a continual smell of mass cooking, soft soap and disinfectant.

142. In some cases the segregation of children according to age or health can only be achieved by using rooms on the same corridors as the infirmary wards for senile patients; by separating the dormitory and dayroom of the children in such a way that young children have to go up and down long corridors and stairways used also by the adults; by placing in the same dormitory children who are healthy and those who are suffering from skin diseases of a contagious kind; or even by putting children to sleep in the adult wards. We found a number of institutions in which normal children were sleeping with low grade mentally defective children, and in one institution where there was an excellent Nursery for children under 3, a baby, brought in as in need of care or protection, had been placed in its perambulator in the old women's ward so that the nursery should not be overcrowded. The contrast between the well cared for nursery children and the neglected, ill-cared for baby was very great.

143. In one workhouse the Matron had made a valiant attempt to gather the children together in the most difficult circumstances. She had to use the institution kitchen as a dining room for the toddlers. We saw them just after the tables had been cleared at dinner time. Most of them had folded their arms on the table and were asleep, with their heads on their hands, while their feet swung aimlessly from a too high wooden bench. The kitchen fire provided warmth and comfort; compared with the cheerless and bare day room they were better off in the warm kitchen. They had large chipped enamel mugs to drink from, such as were familiar at one time in casual wards; we were

told that casual wards are now supplied with crockery. At this institution the "mother" in charge of the children was a harassed looking woman doing her best in difficult circumstances. The Master and Matron were young keen people suffering from a sense of frustration. The Matron complained about the seeming inertia of Public Assistance Committee members. It was noted that the chairman of the Public Assistance Committee was 91 and the Vice Chairman over 80. The impression was left that they were maintaining standards of 50 years ago.

144. One Nursery which was structurally linked to the Public Assistance institution had sunk to the lowest level of child care which has come under our notice. There were 32 children on the register, eight of whom were sick children. These were being nursed in a small ward adjacent to the infirmary adult sick ward. They were in charge of assistant nurses who were at the same time nursing the sick adults in the main ward, in which were aged and chronic sick (one patient had advanced cancer of the face), a mentally defective child, and a child with chicken pox. In the children's ward was an eight year old mentally defective girl, who sat most of the day on a chair commode, because, the nurses said, "she was happy that way." She could not use her arms or legs. There were two babies with rickets clothed in cotton frocks, cotton vests and dilapidated napkins, no more than discoloured cotton rags. The smell in this room was dreadful. A premature baby lay in an opposite ward alone. This ward was very large and cold. The healthy children were housed in the ground floor corrugated hutment which had been once the old union casual ward. The day room was large and bare and empty of all toys. The children fed, played and used their pots in this room. They ate from cracked enamel plates, using the same mug for milk and soup. They slept in another corrugated hutment in old broken black iron cots some of which had their sides tied up with cord. The mattresses were fouled and stained. On inquiry there did not appear to be any available stocks of clothes to draw on and it was said by one of the assistant nurses that "everything was at the laundry and did not come back." The children wore ankle length calico or flannelette frocks and petticoats and had no knickers. Their clothes were not clean. Most of them had lost their shoes; those who possessed shoes had either taken them off to play with or were wearing them tied to their feet with dirty string. Their faces were clean; their bodies in some cases were unwashed and stained.*

145. This Nursery was an exception. We saw some which were remarkably good. One Nursery also linked structurally with the workhouse was supervised by the Master and Matron of the workhouse, but clearly they thought separately of nursery and institution and they did not confuse the two. The standards were high, the staff adequate in number to care for the children and of adequate training. The Ministry of Health had given permission for children to remain in this nursery up to the age of four years. The relationship between the Master and Matron and children approached very nearly to normal home life. The Master made toys for them, played with them and joked with them. He assured us that his Committee supported him in all his suggestions as to improvements and were ready to spend money on progressive schemes.

146. On the whole the standard of care of the older children in workhouses was much below the nursery standard. The provision for play and occupation for the older children, who in theory were there temporarily, was for the most part appallingly bad. There were a few pleasant exceptions to the general dearth of good play material for young children, but hardly any

* The attention of the local authority was drawn immediately to the state of these children, and they have now been removed to a separate nursery.

to the absence of any form of provision for recreation for boys and girls of school age. There seemed no understanding in these institutions of the recreational needs of children, and it was no one's responsibility to see that they were happily occupied. For the staff the older children were an extra burden. They were often concerned about them and did their best to make them feel "at home," but this is done as an act of personal kindness by individual members of the staff rather than as an important staff responsibility. A play pen for the toddlers, a pile of soft toys given by members of the district committee, a few picture books and comic papers seemed to be the limits of provision indoors, in all but a very few of the workhouses.

147. Recreation outside evidently presents another real problem for the staff. Few institutions are provided with gardens in which the children can play. For the most part they are either confined to small asphalt yards in which they can be safely separated from the adults, or, if they are given the run of the place, as they sometimes are because there is no member of the staff to look after them, there is apprehension that they may come to no good by associating with the older inmates. In one institution the matron said she could do nothing with the older children to prevent them from wandering all round the premises, and that she had reported to the Public Assistance Officer that they might be associating with defective adults. Children were seen to be with adults in the yards of some institutions. This might, of course, be quite unobjectionable but has serious dangers in the mixed population of a workhouse.

148. The following extract from a visiting group's report relates to the institution mentioned in paragraph 140:

"The infirmary wards used for children are on the second floor of the institution, at one end of which is a ward for senile men, at the other a ward for senile women. Two rooms are used for children on this corridor, one for twelve infants, and one for a family of five 'healthy' children of scattered ages, and one defective child, aged two. There is only one bathroom on this corridor which has apparently to be used for all purposes. The only playroom is downstairs, and is a gloomy room with high windows. The family of five children have their meals in a small kitchen not meant to be used for children at all. . . . The nursery at the other end of the building has had extra low windows added, and was light and airy with a pleasant garden outlook."

The following report relates to another establishment:

"The premises constitute an old fashioned workhouse which has not been modernised in any way. The children are grouped as follows: babies under one year, of whom there appear to be about fifty; toddlers, aged one to two (fourteen); school children aged five to fifteen (thirteen). The accommodation is typical of the ordinary workhouse wards. They are adequate in size, but generally unsuitable for children. The wards are quite clean and well decorated. Most of the children were playing in the grounds which consist of an ordinary asphalt yard without any grass. . . . The accommodation must cause considerable difficulty. There is a day-room, for instance, for the children of school age, which is on the first floor of one block, and the children have to go downstairs and out through the yard to the first floor of another block to go to bed. In winter they would probably not use the day-room at all. There were thirteen boys and girls of school age in this day-room when it was visited. It is an ordinary institution ward with very little equipment."

The following is an example of a Receiving Home with adequate accommodation: Capacity 18. Present 12 boys and girls aged 3-14.

" This Receiving Home is a converted nurses' home attached to a Public Assistance institution, and is in the charge of the Master and Matron of the institution. The house is well separated from the main institution, though it has a common entrance. It does not overlook the institution, but faces open country. There is only a small asphalt yard in front of the Home.

" This small two storey house seems quite suitable for its purpose, except that the playing space is rather limited. There is a small day-room used also as a dining room, but at the time of the visit the children were having their Sunday dinner under a tent awning in the front playground. There is a doctor's room on the ground floor for medical examinations. The children sleep in homely little rooms, mainly single, but one or two containing two beds in which children of the same family can sleep together. The children have individual lockers. The beds are covered with bright red blankets. On the second floor there are two lavatories and two bathrooms. The staff of the reception home is quite separate from the staff of the institution, apart from the Matron, and night and day duty staff come in from outside. The place looks beautifully clean and tidy."

Defective Children

149. In a number of the institutions visited, defective children were associating with normal children. In one institution which was being used entirely for defectives and epileptics there were a number of children, some of whom were regarded as educable defectives, and others as suffering from mental disturbance or behaviour difficulty rather than mental defect. It is clear that defective and epileptic children and, occasionally, children suffering from mental illness, constitute a serious problem in the children's wards of institutions. The staff are not qualified to deal with them, they are a disturbance in the care of normal children and the adult wards to which they are sometimes moved are equally unsuitable for them. Shortage of accommodation in the mental deficiency institutions and in the residential special schools is generally given as the main reason for their retention in institutions, but there appears also to be considerable delay in some areas in carrying out the necessary procedure for the children to be transferred. Administrative delay was brought specially to our attention by the Medical Officer in charge of one of the institutions mentioned above. The following cases, which were selected from a number, were given to us in writing in June, 1945, by him:

" Girl. Aged 8, date of admission 5th February, 1943. An idiot. She was notified to the Mental Deficiency authority in 1942 as a child who should be removed to a colony for Mental Defectives. The Mental Deficiency department wrote to the Education department for the statutory 'exclusion certificate' which they require before they could proceed with the case. This they have so far been unable to obtain. I wrote at the beginning of June to the Education department pointing out these facts. So far I have had no acknowledgement of my letter. This child has been losing any training she would have received at a Colony."

" Girl. Aged 8. Date of admission 1st June, 1943. She is an imbecile with epilepsy. This is a most difficult case, who climbed the walls, bit the picture rail with her teeth, pulled the bed to pieces, threw radiator cover about, destroyed every toy she was given, walked about naked. She had been a patient here before the age of five, when she was notified as a Mental Defective to the Mental Deficiency authorities. Certification was almost complete when the mother moved her out of our care. On re-admission

she was again notified to the Mental Deficiency authorities, who immediately asked for an 'exclusion certificate' before they could proceed with certification. Repeated applications were made to the Special Schools department on 2nd March, 1944, 23rd November, 1944, 30th January, 1945, 12th February, 1945, without result. Four weeks ago I approached the Education authority and by using mild threats obtained an 'exclusion certificate.' The Mental Deficiency department proceeded with the certification, and she was removed yesterday (21st June, 1945) to the Colony for Mental Defectives."

The psychiatrist of a Child Guidance Clinic complained of the unsuitable care given in an institution to an unstable defective boy of 12 over a period of six months, whilst he was awaiting admission to an Institution for Mental Defectives. He had been found unsuitable for a day special school, on account of his violent behaviour. Application had been made for his admission to a residential special school, but in view of his behaviour he was not admitted. In the meantime he was said to be associating with old men in the institution.

150. Possibly of more serious import is the presence of defective and sometimes uncontrollable children with those who are normal, of which the following is an illustration:

"There is accommodation for 23 cots together with three beds for nursing mothers. Twenty-two of the cots were occupied. There were four children between the ages of five and eight. One was a girl, a blind epileptic in bed, she was quite helpless, and had been there for about three years in the same ward as the normal children. There was a boy aged eight in a cot who was obviously a low-grade mental defective. He hardly ever kept his clothes on, but kept tearing them off. He was in the same ward as the normal children with a screen round him, but he could be seen behind the screen. He had been there since April, 1943, and was now kept in bed all the time. He was there because apparently accommodation for him could not be found anywhere else. There was also an epileptic child of four, who was said to be totally incontinent and helpless. He was permanently bed-ridden."

Staff

151. It was clear in the course of our visits that the unsuitability of the staff and its inadequacy in numbers was even more serious in its effect on the children than the type of building. In very few institutions did the number and qualifications of the staff seem to be even fairly adequate. In most there was staff shortage; in a few instances this was so acute as to lead to neglect of ordinary standards of child care. This state of affairs should not necessarily be attributed to the slackness of the local authority. In many instances repeated applications have been made to the Ministry of Labour for additional staff. In some instances, however, the authority has not appreciated the necessity for an adequate and suitable staff. In the majority of the institutions only the matron who was in charge of the adults as well as of the children had had any training, and in a few others none of the staff appeared to have had any training at all. It is obvious that while the master and matron of a large institution can give general supervision to the care of the children they cannot safeguard the day to day handling, which is to a large extent in the hands of totally unqualified members of the staff. In several cases the staff had been forced to use the help of adult inmates of the institutions.

Physical Care of the Children

152. Enough has already been said under the headings of "accommodation" and "staff" to indicate that the physical care of children is sometimes neglected, even although those looking after them have the best intentions.

It is not possible to give the right kind of care to children who cannot be isolated from those with contagious skin diseases, or to children who must sleep in adult wards and share the same bathing facilities as adults who may be unhealthy. We saw, for example, children who looked both unhealthy and uncared for:

Eighteen children, aged 1 to 14 in a Receiving Home used in connection with an institution though not part of it.

" All the children were in the same room together, the young babies and the older children. Eight of the children had been in the (Receiving) Home for six weeks, and some of them for three months. Two boys had been there for seven months. The delay in their transfer to an ordinary Home is said to be due to the fact that when they were admitted they were suffering from impetigo of long standing, but this has only recently been cleared up."

Occupation and Education

153. Even in those institutions where adequate physical care was given to the children there was little homeliness or provision for recreation. There were one or two workhouses where fairly good care on common sense lines was given to infants and toddlers, but we did not see any institution where provision for occupation for children over the age of five could be regarded as satisfactory. At the best they were " amused " from time to time by kindly members of the staff, but they had no proper recreation facilities either indoors or outside, and some of them were almost completely confined in the institutions for months at a time. We found that in a large proportion of institutions which we visited normal children of school age did not attend school. One reason given was the short time they were expected to stay and the danger of carrying infection.

For example: *Eighteen children, thirteen of over five.*

" The children never go out to school, even though some of them may be here for months at a time. The children have no outside contacts, they merely play by themselves in the gloomy dayroom, or in the yard. They are not taken for walks owing to shortage of staff. There is no opportunity for playing with other children. . . . The children in the Receiving Home have no pocket money until they are fourteen years of age. . . . If they had pocket money there would be no opportunity of spending it. . . . The children did not have any toys at all."

Ten children, aged two to eight. Children here received for treatment, and also on account of destitution because of the overcrowding of the children's Home.

" There seemed nowhere for these children to play. The woman in charge said that she had taken them out to play in a playground outside that (Sunday) afternoon. When we arrived on Sunday evening one boy was wandering round a yard in which old men from the workhouse were sitting. The children do not go out to school from here, though the woman in charge said that there was no reason why they should not go to school. There is no indoor playroom and there are no toys, though some of the boys had been given comics to look at in bed. . . . Apart from the lack of suitable occupation the handling seemed friendly."

154. From these visits and from the information which we obtained from officials and social workers we formed the conclusion that in the majority of Public Assistance institutions the general care of children was of poor standard. We saw a few very good examples, all of which were Nurseries, and a few very bad. By very bad examples we do not mean to suggest that we found

evidence of harshness for which the staff was responsible. Except in the one instance of the nursery unit described in paragraph 144 the ill-usage was of a negative rather than a positive kind and elsewhere sprang directly from unsuitability of buildings, lack of training and of appreciation of children's needs. Officials of local authorities suggested that the children suffered from the attitude of the public to children maintained under the poor law. This attitude had affected some members of the Public Assistance Committees, some of whom had survived as Committee members from the days of the old Boards of Guardians and still held old-fashioned views about what was suitable for a destitute child. In the few cases in which the care was very good the Master and Matron were enlightened people who were aware of the difficulties, and had the ingenuity to surmount them and the enterprise to use their assistant staff to the best advantage of the children in their care.

155. The worst feature was often the complete failure to provide any kind of individual interest or notice. In most cases the children had been brought into the workhouse as an emergency arrangement and were therefore in a neglected or unhappy or bewildered state. Often in the institution they were left to the casual kindness of aged inmates or to the indifferent attention of busy staff to whom they were nothing but an additional burden. Babies remained in their cots day in and day out, gazing at the ceiling, and toddlers played on the floor, often unchanged and unkempt, with any bits and pieces which they could find. The older children were turned out to play in asphalt yards surrounded by high walls, and were unprovided with schooling or occupation. And they often remained in such conditions for months.

156. We have no alternative but to paint this very gloomy picture of the conditions in which children are at present received and maintained by many authorities in adult institutions; but it would be unfair to the more enlightened authorities if we did not mention that there are some exceptions. We visited a few areas where we did not find a single healthy normal child in a workhouse ward and where adequate Receiving Homes were provided in separate blocks for children needing cleansing or observation.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CHILDREN'S HOMES, PUBLIC ASSISTANCE NURSERIES, PUBLIC HEALTH NURSERIES

157. Under this heading we have grouped Children's Homes run by or on behalf of Public Assistance Committees specially for children, which were not part of, or combined with, the building or the administration of an institution for adults. They represent therefore, under present practice, the normal method (as opposed to retention in workhouses which is the irregular method not countenanced by regulation) of caring for the children in the charge of Public Assistance authorities and not boarded out. Those "Scattered" Homes which were run under the general over-sight of the Master and Matron of the institution have been included in this group. We visited 112 Local Authority Homes and 20 Nurseries. The children may have come under care for a variety of reasons—destitution, lack of parental care and affection leading to abandonment, lack of control, cruel treatment—any one of these or even the temporary absence of a mother in hospital, may lead to a child being placed permanently or temporarily under the care of the local authority.

Types of Homes

158. The Homes fall into four groups. Large institutions or "Barrack" buildings, Single Homes (smaller in size but larger than a family group), Grouped Cottage Homes and Scattered Homes. Besides these, there are Nurseries for children under five.

Large Institutions: Barrack Type

159. A large number of Homes of this sort were built during the last century and as they were built to last, many authorities which are anxious to develop the care of children on more modern lines have found them on their hands. Administratively they constitute a dead loss to the ratepayers unless they can be used or converted. In some cases there has been a tendency to continue to use them for this reason. These Homes usually house large groups of children (50 up to 200 or more) who all share the same living quarters and sleep in large dormitories.

Single Homes

160. Single Homes, housing a number of children up to fifty or so have been built or bought by a number of authorities.

Grouped Cottage Homes

161. This type of Home represents an effort to break up the children into groups, varying at present in size from 8 to 20 and exceptionally numbering as many as 50, so that in the care of a house-mother in each cottage the children can enjoy something in the nature of home life and the sort of individual attention which a child receives from its parents. Few authorities have made the cottage groups into anything which resembles an actual family group. In most Cottage Homes the cottages for boys and girls were separate and the age groups were also segregated. Babies usually did not come into the Homes but were kept in a separate nursery. If babies were taken in the Cottage Homes they lived in a separate cottage, as did the toddlers also. In some Homes there were mixed cottages for children up to the age of 8 or 9 when the boys left for a boys' group. It was unusual to find Homes like one we visited where the Matron thought a complete mixing of ages and sexes quite natural and a good preparation for life. The individual cottages were often so large as to resemble villa Homes of the single type. In some Homes the food was cooked, and served, centrally; in others the cottage mother did her own cooking.

162. In one or two areas in which the Cottage Homes had been built as a result of the movement away from the barrack institutions of the last century the majority of the children aged from two or three to fourteen or over were cared for in the Homes. It was noticeable however that there was a tendency to increase the size of the units in this kind of Home. For reasons such as the difficulty of boarding out or shortage of staff, the cottage units were larger than many authorities regarded as desirable and were rapidly losing the character of small households and becoming small institutions while at the same time the buildings became over-crowded. A group of thirty children in a cottage, of ages varying from two to fourteen, becomes a very different problem of management and education from a planned group of fifteen or sixteen children. This size of cottage was characteristic of a number of Cottage Homes which were visited.

Scattered Homes

163. This term is used to describe small houses, each perhaps one of a row in a street, in the charge of foster mothers employed by the local authority. They house eight to twelve children of either sex or both sexes

and may hold more. The children are often of mixed ages and the arrangement does provide something more closely approximating to the family household than more institutional forms of care. Where the plan of Scattered Homes had been adopted the nature of the accommodation was such that the number of children could not be increased. The tendency seemed to be to keep the children in the Public Assistance institutions rather than to enlarge or overcrowd the Homes.

164. In some areas we found arrangements which combined Cottage Homes and Single Homes and one county had developed Barrack, Cottage and Single Homes as well as war time Nurseries for children under five.

Nurseries

165. It is the common practice to separate the infants under 2 or 3 from the toddlers and older children in separate nurseries; sometimes these nurseries were single Homes, sometimes one cottage in a group. The nurseries we saw were of two types:

1. The residential nursery originally brought into existence by Public Assistance authorities which continued to supervise the running of the nursery in conjunction with the Medical Officer of Health, or which have delegated the running of the Residential Nursery to the Maternity and Child Welfare department. The children in these nurseries were admitted because they were either destitute, or had no female relative to look after them.
2. The residential nursery brought into existence by the Maternity and Child Welfare committees at the request of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, to make provision for children whose mothers had undertaken war work which entailed night shifts. These nurseries have grown up around industrial areas to surprising proportions. Many of the children's mothers were unmarried mothers who had to earn their living in order to support themselves and their children.

Receiving Homes

166. Some authorities provided Receiving Homes independent of work-houses to which children could be taken when first admitted, for examination, observation and cleansing. Such Homes are often one cottage in a group of Cottage Homes or occasionally a Single Home in which the children are looked after by a special staff.

Accommodation

167. We saw very few examples of modern buildings in use as children's Homes. Where building had taken place just before the war it was clear that local authorities had taken a more generous view of the amenities which should be provided, than had prevailed in earlier times. Cottage Homes usually dated from the beginning of the century and although they were clearly an advance upon the buildings at that time in use by Poor Law authorities they could not in every case be considered to be in line with present standards of child care. Most of the cottages in Cottage Homes were unhomely in appearance and set out in grounds which were often formal and forbidding, with large main gates of institutional type, asphalt drive ways and a lack of opportunity for variety and privacy in the gardens. In one group of Cottage Homes we saw what was really a small village, consisting of 21 houses built in 1901, with 14 children in each cottage, boys or girls. There was no lobby

of any kind; the door opened into the scullery kitchen where food was prepared, and the small dining room, which also served as a living and playroom, opened out of this. The cottages were situated on top of a hill, and we were told that in winter they were very uncomfortable. The layout of this group of Cottage Homes is typical.

The following is an example of more recent history:

" This authority built inter-communicating Cottage Homes shortly before the War. They are admirable buildings, pleasant to look at, standing among other houses of the same size but with plenty of open ground behind where the children have a swing and a shed for play. There is a good dining room and living room but no separate playroom. The capacity of each cottage is 12, but at present there are 16 boys in each house."

168. The Single Homes were often converted private dwellings. Whilst some were obviously old and inconvenient they were sometimes more homely in appearance than Homes which had been specially designed for the purpose and their gardens offered more scope for play and exploration. We saw one recently acquired large private dwelling house which was being converted for use as a Boys' home for 40 boys. The situation was magnificent, overlooking a moor. The house was excellently furnished and, apart from the fact that its position was extremely isolated and that its design was on rather extravagant lines, it represented a far higher standard of child care than had yet been established in that particular county area.

169. Old houses occasionally had fallen into a serious state of disrepair. It was obvious in some cases that the disrepair was largely accounted for by the war, but even so there did not seem to be adequate excuse for the state of some of the houses which we saw, particularly when we found that others in the same part of the country had been kept in reasonably good condition.

For example: *A Home with capacity listed as 43. Children in residence 75, aged 5-15.*

" We were not at all favourably impressed with this Home. There was evidently considerable over-crowding, and the staff appeared to be badly over-worked. The whole place was very shabby. The gate was falling to pieces, many chairs had broken backs, and two walls in the girls' bedrooms were damp. In one upstairs bedroom a corner wall was so badly cracked that the light showed through and another wall had a bad transverse crack and showed signs of dampness. The lavatories were dark and badly ventilated, and plug pulls were broken . . . in several rooms the plaster was falling off the walls."

The difficulty of accommodation in the large home is shown by the following comment from a visiting group's report.

Large Home, 62 boys and girls. Ages 5-16.

" This building was gaunt and barrack-like, with far too few living rooms and rooms for play in the boys' quarters. The dining room and playrooms were unattractive and there was nothing cheerful or homely about the place. When we went into the boys' playroom we found a room full of boys from the age of five upwards who crowded round us urging us to look at any small possessions they had. The lack of separate room space made proper facilities for games and recreation impossible."

Size of Building and Number of Children

170. We had a considerable amount of evidence of shortage of accommodation or of accommodation not fully available. In several Grouped Homes, cottages had been closed owing to the difficulty of providing the necessary labour. We found one instance of a good room in a Scattered Home held vacant for this reason when healthy children in the same county were being most unsuitably housed in workhouses. Thus a Home or group of Homes listed as over-crowded might be so listed because children had been assembled in a limited number of cottages and rooms in order to save labour. In a few cases we regarded the over-crowding as serious in its effect on the children's health and welfare. In the Cottage Homes of one county borough the buildings had been planned to accommodate 345 children; the population at the time of our visit was 385. Members of the staff of the Homes stated that they regarded the accommodation as suitable only for 256 children. Cottages which had originally been intended for about 16 children were being used for 25-30. A number of children were sleeping two in a bed, and until recently there had been as many as 70 sleeping under these conditions. In this establishment three cottages had been closed because of shortage of staff. The difficulties had been accentuated by the closing of the Receiving Home at the outbreak of war so that cleansing had also to be carried out in over-crowded conditions. The individual cottages held children between the ages of 2 and 14 on whose health and recreation over-crowding must have had a serious effect. It was impossible to separate new admissions, so that a child newly admitted in a very dirty condition associated after bathing with the other children in seriously over-crowded sleeping and playrooms. The Medical Superintendent told us that this arrangement had frequently caused the spread of infection and had actually led to far more sickness amongst the children.

171. In a Single Home built in 1909 there were two separate houses in the same grounds; one for boys and one for girls. According to figures supplied by the Ministry of Health the accommodation was listed for 56 children. We were told by the Superintendent that the pre-war accommodation was considered to be 65, a number which had been increased to 81 and which it was proposed to increase still further to 101 by taking in a building formerly used as a laundry. At the time of our visit there were 76 children. The only day rooms in each house were a dining room and a kitchen. The boys' dining room could not accommodate all the boys for meals and some had their meals in the kitchen. There was not chair space between the beds in the dormitories. In another Single Home with accommodation for 18 boys there were 24 present at the time of our visit. They had only one small sitting room for meals, reading and play. The dormitories were tightly packed and there was no room for any provision in the way of lockers or other receptacles for the boys' own possessions, though they were said to be on order. Outside was a small asphalt yard.

172. The following is a description of a building with some good features:

A Single Home, used particularly for delicate children. Capacity 24, boys and girls, aged 3-15.

" This Public Assistance children's Home, a pleasant two-storey stone building in a row of similar houses directly facing the sea, was opened for children who need special attention to their health and who will benefit from open-air life. It is a private house specially adapted for the purpose, and is said by the Public Assistance officer to be the best equipped of its type in the area. Health needs are not only interpreted from a physical standpoint, and a child suffering from bad experience at home might be

sent here. . . . The accommodation seems convenient, attractive and healthy. There is a good sized dining room with small tables and parquet flooring used for play as well as for meals. The walls are bright with pictures and book cases well stocked with suitable books. Flowers are attractively arranged on the tables and these laid with well chosen china. There is a particularly good outside playroom converted from an outhouse. This is large enough for a swing, for some good large toys, dolls' houses, rocking horses, barrows and trucks, and for the storing of tricycles and bicycles, which the older children use. This room is unheated. The sleeping rooms, containing beds varying in number from three to six, are light and airy, and well spaced, and between each bed is a specially designed small chair and cupboard."

173. We had evidence that in some Homes the poor accommodation provided for the staff was partly responsible for the serious shortage of personnel. On the whole, we were impressed with the undemanding attitude of the staff, who seemed often to be working under conditions which precluded privacy in leisure hours, let alone comfort. It has already been mentioned that in a large Cottage Home members of the staff had no sitting room of their own. In another single Home we were told that the Master and Matron could not get an assistant partly because the accommodation was so poor. The room available was very small, the walls showed bad signs of damp, and the furniture was scanty, cheap and shabby.

174. The shortage of staff was general throughout all the Homes we visited. On the whole, the nurseries were, we found, more fully staffed than other Homes, and we were told that this was because they were often training centres also. We were frequently told that local authorities had tried to secure improvement in the staffing of their Homes but so far from being able to recruit trained or experienced workers they were often unable to recruit anyone at all. The poor accommodation and conditions provided for staff must in many Homes have made it difficult to retain staff even when found. It was obvious too that shortage of staff must lead to an excessive demand on the children's labour as well as to overwork of the staff themselves.

175. So far as shortage of numbers permitted, an attempt was generally made to provide reasonable relief for the staff. In one relatively well-staffed group of Cottage Homes we found an excellent system of reliefs which gave the house mothers one long week-end in four (Friday to Tuesday). This was all set out on a chart by means of coloured discs showing just when and where the relief was due and had the double advantage of letting the foster mother know in advance not only when her week-end was due, but that it was actually arranged for. The system included the provision of two or three "floating" relief staff to provide for emergencies.

Qualifications of Staff

176. With very few exceptions the only kind of specialised training for the care of children possessed by any members of staff was that of State Registered Nurse or Nursery Nurse. A few of the Masters and Matrons held the certificate of the Poor Law Examinations Board for Institution Officers. Even in respect of nursing the qualifications of the staff could only be regarded as adequate in a very few of those Homes of which we had particulars. All these were Nurseries. We found one example of a Matron in charge of a scattered home who had been trained by a voluntary organisation. One Matron of a toddlers' Home had taken a course of lectures and found them a great help.

177. We regard the whole of our report on these Homes as to some extent illustrative of the effects of the employment of staff without adequate qualifications, though much allowance has to be made for poor conditions of work

and lack of assistance. We were often impressed with the way in which, under the most exacting circumstances, men and women with little leisure or privacy continued to take an individual interest in the children, and to maintain good standards of physical care. The Masters and Matrons who controlled and managed Homes (apart from "workhouses") had in some instances progressive views, but often their ambition was higher than their capacity and their schemes too difficult to work without a trained staff. Sometimes lack of training was compensated by special personal suitability. It was evident that some men and women of good quality had taken to this work because of their concern for the children, and that they had sacrificed themselves in doing so, or that they had found their way into the work as national service and discovered a bent for it. There was, for example, a young Matron managing, with one assistant, a large Scattered Home for eighteen boys, of which a man would ordinarily have been in charge. She seemed to be on unusually good terms with a group of quite difficult boys, who evidently enjoyed her companionship. This Matron had been "directed" into this work by the Ministry of Labour at the age of about thirty, having been previously employed as a children's nurse in private families, and although she was disturbed by the behaviour of some of the more difficult lads, she seemed to use good common-sense methods and to enjoy her work. A Scattered Home for twenty-one girls in another area was run by a Scotswoman of about forty-five—a pleasant, motherly, practical person, unpretentious and sincere. She had had some training as a Salvation Army worker, and had found this useful in helping her to understand the kind of lives the children had lived at home. She was particularly resourceful in arranging all sorts of outside activities for the children, and in converting makeshift premises into a welcoming home.

178. Against these reports must be set a large number of Homes in which it was only too clear that the staff possessed neither personal nor educational qualifications for the care of children. For example:

Single Home. Forty boys and girls. Twelve babies, aged nine months to three years. Twenty-eight boys aged three to seven. Girls up to fourteen.

"A Matron—not a trained nurse—is in charge of the whole house. The nursery staff consists of a head nursery nurse (uncertificated formerly with a voluntary organisation). . . . The children in the nursery were dirty and ill-clad."

Single "Reception" Home. Twenty-seven boys and girls. Master and Matron, married couple, in charge.

"The Master and Matron have been in Poor Law work for many years. They have spent most of their lives in the care of elderly men and women at the institution. The Master was probably at least 65; the Matron considerably younger. Neither has had any training. The Matron seemed kindly, anxious to do her best for the children, but acknowledged her own ignorance of the special needs of difficult children and was puzzled how to deal with them."

179. It is worth noting that the best of the untrained staff, who can often manage a Home fairly well for children who present no special difficulties, are often at a loss to know how to deal with children who present special problems and may fail to do justice to the more normal children for this reason. Again, those who can manage reasonably well on common-sense lines children of school age may fail lamentably with little children and may lack resourcefulness in catering for the more varied needs of

adolescent boys and girls who often call for more individual understanding and guidance. It is evident that routine methods are sometimes resorted to because the staff have neither the time nor the ability to treat the children as individuals. Some would welcome more expert guidance: others fear that training will suppress rather than develop common-sense and that expert guidance is likely to be unpractical. There were very few occasions on which we felt that the staff had been in any sense selected for the particular duties assigned to them. An exception was discovered in some Cottage Homes run as a Reception Centre by one authority which were supervised by a joint committee of Public Assistance and Public Health. Here there was recognition of the need for the special handling of children. The cottages, with the exception of two, were staffed by State Registered Nurses. Three foster mothers were specially used if Matron thought that some child needed extra mothering and she made a point in talking to us of her careful selection of staff.

Physical Care

180. As far as we could judge, most of the children seemed to be well fed and were generally well cared for physically. With a few exceptions the clothing was of good quality, individual and varied, and, making allowance for war-time difficulties, in good repair. In the difficult staffing conditions which have been described, the standard of cleanliness of the children and of their clothes and bedding had been fairly well maintained. On the side of comfort, however, there was a good deal to be desired. We consider that in some cases there was too long an interval between the children's rising and their breakfast.

181. It is doubtful whether the more positive aspects of health are given as much attention as one might hope for in the care of children. Many of the children must have suffered from conditions which at the best were likely to be unfavourable to health and growth. With the exception of one area, where special provision was made for children whose physical or mental health seemed to have suffered from the conditions in which they had been living, we came across very little individual attention to the building up of health, though this must be necessary in most areas.

Medical Care

182. It appears to be an almost universal practice for children to be given a medical examination on entry, but this is sometimes not carried out until the children have been in the Home for some days. Subsequently medical attention may be provided by a medical officer of the local authority or by a local general practitioner who may make regular calls as often as once a week, or may only be called in at the discretion of the house mother. It is not unusual to find monthly routine examinations arranged for in addition to the school medical examinations, and treatment seems more usually to be carried out in the Infirmary than in the School Medical Clinics. We have no way of judging whether the arrangement with the local doctor was more or less satisfactory than the medical supervision by the authority's own officer. We had evidence that at the present time the pressure of work on the local doctor might make it difficult for him to pay regular visits to these children. It was, however, the exception to find that house mothers felt that they had inadequate medical advice. They may send the child for treatment to the local authority Hospital if necessary. In one or two areas it was noticed that there were a number of cases of children whose eyes or teeth needed attention.

183. Almost all the children of school age had the advantage of the ordinary school medical services. We found, however, that in several areas the Public Assistance Committee did not rely upon the school services for attention to the children's teeth and eyes, but had arranged for a private dentist to make routine examinations, and to carry out treatment in his consulting room or in the sick bay of the Home.

184. We noted that provision for the isolation of children who were received direct from bad homes without cleansing or were taken ill and who might be suffering from infectious conditions was not by any means always available, even in the larger Homes. This was sometimes due to over-crowded conditions, as sick rooms had had to be given up to sleeping accommodation for normal children, or for staff. In the Home just mentioned to which children were specially sent on account of their health, the sick-room had been converted into use for the staff, and a child suffering from whooping cough was being kept during the day in one of the bedrooms. In another Home for twenty-four children, the sick-room was used as a store room, and two children, a boy and a girl, were being nursed for mumps in the ordinary bedrooms apparently shared with other children. The explanation was that as they were of different sexes (aged about ten) the rules did not allow them to share the same sickroom.

185. It was exceptional to find a trained nurse available even in the large Single Homes and we found an instance of grouped Cottage Homes housing as many as 200 children, including thirty children under five, in which no fully trained nurse was available. Occasionally this lack of trained staff was found even in Homes which include children as young as nine months.

Admission and Reception

186. Children may come to the Homes from residential nurseries, receiving homes, workhouses, hospitals, or direct from their homes. It seemed to us that too little thought and care was exercised in the case of the last group. In few Homes did we find any awareness of the state of misery, bewilderment and fear of the newly admitted little child. Too often his first contact with the Home was with the office staff who noted essential particulars and asked only questions of a formal kind. Then his own clothes were taken off and often carelessly tossed aside (although he may have known that he was dressed in his best for the occasion), he was given a bath, dressed in new clothes and pushed in with a group of children. Whatever comfort and happiness may have come to him later, the child's first introduction to the Home was often formal, cold and hurried, just at the moment when leisurely kindness, warmth and affection were his main need. Some of us have a depressing recollection of seeing two small girls who had entered the Home some half-an-hour or more before sitting sadly side by side with their hats and coats still unremoved. No one was taking any notice of them. They looked the very picture of desolation yet so far one comfort remained to them—they were together. In too many Homes they would not be together long.

Diet

187. The few meals that we saw seemed substantial and appetising although too frequently served in chipped enamel plates and mugs. There seemed to be a general realisation of the need for fresh vegetables and for milk and eggs as available. A good deal of trouble was often taken to make it possible for the Homes to use their own produce or that of the local institution.

188. There was one difficulty regarding meals which caused us some concern. Some of the children lived at a distance from the school and no arrangement had been made for them to have their mid-day meal at school. This

meant that their main meal was eaten hurriedly, particularly when, as was sometimes the case, the Home was dependent upon the children for help in clearing the tables when they had finished their dinner. For example:—

“The girls get up about 6.30 a.m. and help with bed-making before breakfast which is about 7.30 a.m. They help to wash up before going to school. They walk about a mile to school. They get home for dinner about 12.30, help to wash up after dinner and leave for school again about 1.40. It seemed to us that the children do too much domestic work during the dinner period.”

In some other Homes the foster mothers recognised that the dinner period was “rather a scramble” but they preferred to have the children at home for the mid-day meal, so they said, “because then you can see what they get.”

Clothing

189. We were impressed by the trouble taken in many areas by the local authority and by individual matrons to provide the children with sensible and attractive individual clothing. The day of dreary uniforms or drab frocks signifying the Poor Law child has definitely gone. Pride was taken in the individual clothing of the children and care was taken to provide for a wide range of patterns and colours which would suit the particular children wearing them. Much of the girls’ clothing was made in the Homes and repaired there. In many Homes we were shown good stocks of clothes, print frocks of all colours and patterns from toddlers’ sizes to those for older girls, different coloured jerseys for the boys, good thick winter coats, panama hats, good stocks of shoes and school uniform of gym slips and blouses. Though the boys can, in fact, be recognised by the type of mass produced clothing they wear in most cases it was clear that the children’s clothing compared well with that of other children in the school. Only very occasionally did we make unfavourable comments on the quality and condition of the clothing. Dirty clothes or untidy and unattractive clothes were observed in very few Homes; old fashioned twill night-dresses and underwear were sometimes seen. Dirty clothes, as might be expected, were generally seen in Homes which were under-staffed and poorly managed. For example:

Home for 22 boys, aged five to fourteen. Accommodation 25. Usually full.

“The bathing and sanitary arrangements were adequate but the towels in the bathroom were extremely dirty. Their shirts were filthy.”

Forty-four boys and girls in three houses, aged three to four. Accommodation 46.

“All the houses seemed to be rather dirty. There was a general absence of comfort and cheerfulness. The bathing arrangements were poor, the face flannels were dirty . . . The children’s clothing is poor, and the clothes were dirty.”

Home for 38 boys, aged five to sixteen. Normal accommodation for 28.

“The face flannels in the bathroom were dirty. The clothing was very poor. Although the boys were not too clean, they seemed quite healthy—but I was not satisfied that there is proper physical or mental care of the children.”

Domestic Work carried out by the Children

190. At the present time many of the Homes are dependent upon the domestic work of the children. We did not come across much definite evidence of serious drudgery in the case of young children, such as we felt would

have a damaging effect upon their health and well being. Nevertheless, the prevalence of large areas of highly polished floor and staircase even in Cottage Homes suggested that to maintain such a standard a considerable contribution must have been made by the children. Very few Homes had the used look of houses which are cleaned once a day and then left until the following day, and the unnatural cleanliness and polish of many Homes at all times of the day made us suspect that the children must constantly be employed in polishing. In a number of instances we thought that hours of play were limited by this requirement, and that in order to provide for clearing away and washing up, insufficient time was given to meals and leisure after meals.

For example:

Home for forty-four boys and girls in three houses aged five to fifteen.

"The big boys and girls get up at 7 o'clock. They have to light the fires and do a considerable amount of housework. They go to bed at 8 o'clock. They have to wash up at dinner time. There is a wash house attached to the girls' cottage and the older girls including some of those still going to school do the washing. . . . The Acting Master said that he thought it very good training for the girls in housework."

We seldom, if ever, came across Homes in which the more interesting parts of domestic work was given to the boys and girls. They seldom seemed to be made responsible for cooking anything or planning a menu or, in small Homes, for shopping for the Home or planning their own clothes.

191. The housework undertaken by boys and girls who have left school may be regarded as training or as employment. We were left in no doubt that a number of girls were kept on after they had reached school leaving age for the ostensible purpose of training for domestic service when, in fact, they were simply undertaking the routine work of the house. Little, if any, attention was paid to their training, nor would it have been possible to give it with the shortage of staff already described. This matter links up closely with the whole question of choice of employment and the provision of vocational training which is discussed below. It should be stated here that we found a number of examples of girls of fourteen and fifteen who seemed to be spending long hours in general housework and in minding younger children without adequate payment or fixed spare time and with little attention to training. For example:

"Scattered Home." 12 boys and girls.

"There is one fourteen-year-old girl here at present, and the House Mother says, 'She just does everything.' This is regarded as training. She helps in the kitchen, with the housework, with the needlework, and fetches the younger children from school. It is doubtful whether she has any time off except when the children are in bed."

"Scattered Home." 20 boys and girls.

"Girls who have left school seem to be kept at work of some kind or another all day until the children get to bed. Some of the duties are light —such as playing with the children out of doors. They have about an hour to themselves after supper, which they spend with the staff."

Nursery School Education

192. It was clear that in some cases the children under school age presented a serious problem for the depleted staff, which the staff themselves recognised. These children suffered specially from the lack of suitable play material and playing space, which for them provides both recreation and education; their needs make in some respects greater demands upon personal skill, so that the

lack of qualification of the staff is felt more keenly. In one large establishment of Grouped Cottage Homes, strong representations were made to us by the Master and Matron that a trained Nursery School Teacher should be provided for their twenty-seven children aged between three and five, who were at the present time in charge of a completely untrained member of the staff. We came across several Homes catering for children under five, in which a Nursery School, managed by the Education Authority, staffed with qualified teachers was part of the establishment. Where the Nursery Schools existed they were sometimes excellent and sometimes very poor. Generally speaking, the Nursery School children were liberally supplied with toys. There was much less evidence of messy play material and of facilities for use of sand, water, plasticine and paper. One Nursery School in an otherwise well arranged Grouped Cottage Home was a picture of unhappiness. The children looked poorly and uncared for, the nose of one was bleeding and she was crying with fright, a second was crying with misery and was blue with cold. She had been admitted only two days before and had for a short time been locked into some room and forgotten. She had not been given a coat and no special interest was being taken in her. She looked lost, lonely and wretched. Another Nursery School which we saw in a similar group of Homes, presented a striking contrast. Here the children were busily and happily engaged with trays of play material and were learning to look after themselves and younger companions.

Primary and Secondary School Education

193. In most of the Homes the children were attending the Primary Schools of the Local Education Authority; in a very few the Home had its own school within the curtilage. In many places it was the practice to split up the children so that no one contingent was big enough to overload any school. In one Home the children were going to a number of different schools, not more than 24 to any one school. We gained the impression that many of the children in the Homes were educationally retarded. This may, of course, have been due to their unfortunate history rather than to the conditions of their lives, but it was surprising to find in some Homes that few of the children could tell the time, and that many of them did not know the date of their birthdays. The contact between the Home and the school was often unsatisfactory. There seemed to be a lack of co-operation. Some of us were concerned to notice a certain prejudice against "Home" children in the schools. It was difficult to tell whether the fact that the majority of Homes had sent no children to Secondary or Technical Schools for a number of years was due to the poor quality of intelligence of children in the Homes or to the fact that their interest in school work or in future opportunities was not sufficiently encouraged; or to any other disadvantages which attached to their living in a Public Assistance Home. About this our evidence came entirely from local government officials and from those who were in charge of the Homes. We were constantly told that the children in the Homes had the same opportunity for continued education as other children attending the same schools: but when we asked for particulars of the number of children who had, in fact, taken up scholarships and continued their education, the number we were given was very small and they were mostly boys. In marked contrast was one large urban authority, most of whose older children were attending secondary or technical or special craft schools, many of them travelling long distances to attend a particular school. It should be borne in mind that children attending Secondary schools are usually boarded out, either because of the distance of the Home from the school or because it is considered a better plan in the interests of the child. It should also be remembered that in some areas where boarding out is freely used for children of all ages, the more intelligent and adaptable children have been boarded out so that those in the Homes represent the less able children. Even including the

boarded out children, however, it was extraordinary that so few children were found to be attending schools of the secondary Grammar school standard or going on to higher education. These facts are further confirmed by the large number of Homes from which children are sent to unskilled employment. We reached the somewhat striking conclusion that for some reason or other very few children in Public Assistance Homes appear to have benefited from education after the age of fourteen. If our limited study can be taken as a sample of the Public Assistance Homes as a whole, and if it is not entirely due to the children's unusually poor ability, this conclusion reflects in a serious way a failure to compensate the child deprived of a normal home life; not only because they are not getting the opportunities open to normal children, but because the lack of individual attention and of special teaching and stimulus in the infant and toddler stages may have directly contributed to their failure to reach the necessary standard.

Vocational Training

194. Mention has already been made of the general practice of keeping on a certain number of girls and occasionally boys in the Homes to "train" for domestic service. In one or two Homes a genuine attempt seemed to be made to treat this period of a girl's residence as a preparation for the work she would undertake, but for the most part her training appeared to be a secondary consideration. Apart from this type of "training" very few of the Homes cater for vocational work, although in a few of the larger Cottage Homes, some of the boys worked under the supervision of the staff in the bakery, the garden, and the carpenter's shop and occasionally took up the type of employment of which they had gained experience in this way.

Leisure Facilities

195. We found that many of the Homes were not providing any separate recreation room for the children, or facilities for the carrying on of individual indoor hobbies or quiet interests. In some Homes we found the only playroom was really a romping room for children from 5 to 14, sometimes also the kitchen. We could not often observe for ourselves the result of these cramped conditions on the children's recreation; but it was not difficult to see that the lack of space must in itself have had a serious effect upon their welfare. The effect of the lack of staff, and the failure to provide members of the staff with knowledge of the needs of children of different ages must be even more serious, and was often painfully evident in the lack of homeliness and comfort in the rooms in which the children spent their leisure hours, and in the even more striking absence in many of the Homes of suitable material for play and for individual interests. This seemed to be true for all ages of children. We found only a few Homes in which we regarded the opportunities for play and for hobbies as fairly good. In others we noted some good features in play material, libraries and toys, but even in these the standard was such that any person experienced in play groups or club leadership would wish to add extensively to equipment of all kinds, and to rearrange rooms so that groups of children of different ages, or individuals, could carry on their activities in a happy and valuable way. There were some Homes where there was no wireless, no gramophone, very few books, and, it seemed, only a small collection of old and dilapidated toys. Some children had never had a newspaper. In some Homes we were told that the toys given to the children would only be destroyed. Many of the Homes were lamentably lacking in opportunities for the children to cherish such personal possessions as came their way. Time and again we found that the toys belonging to the whole group—generally a tawdry and uninteresting collection—were kept in a untidy pile in a cupboard or chest, or even in a heap on the floor, and that no individual lockers were provided. There were of course some pleasant exceptions.

196. The space for out-door play was often good but we found some Homes in which even outdoor life in the grounds was cramped and lacking in opportunities for exploring, climbing or round games; or for hobbies such as gardening, the keeping of pets or play with simple materials, which children given freedom will generally find for themselves and use with absorbed interest. It is true that a certain number of children were given considerable opportunities for play and social life further afield—opportunities which will be discussed later but this freedom was generally limited to boys and girls in the older age-groups and to special occasions. Much time was spent by the children in the Home grounds, particularly during the school holidays. The cottages often had inadequate playing space nearby although the Home was surrounded by fields. It was not an unfamiliar sight to see Cottage Home children playing in a small asphalt space walled in amongst the coal and coke. That the dearth of good opportunities for play was not due to the war only, was shown by the better provision which was found at a few Homes. That it was sometimes due to lack of knowledge or time on the part of the staff was shown by the fact that Homes which were good and bad in this respect were found to belong to the same authorities which would have made similar provisions in each case if approached with the same request.

197. The following examples are given of Homes of fairly good standard.

Single Home. Thirty-five boys and girls.

"There are good playing fields. Rabbits, ducks and fowls are kept and are said to be of great interest to the children. There is a good library and the children also use the local Public Library."

Single Home. Twenty-seven boys.

"There is a playroom fairly adequate in size, with a ping-pong table, quoits and a small collection of books. There is a small cinema screen for the Master's own films and slides and he seems to share his hobby of photography with the boys. But there are few personal possessions and nowhere at present to keep them though lockers are planned. The playroom and dining room are decorated with model aeroplanes (not home-made)."

One outstandingly good Home for 70 children had, we thought, the right atmosphere. The Master and Matron said that members of the Public Assistance Committee visited weekly and were very keen that the children should have what they needed to make them happy including provision for hobbies and other interests. An example of high standard Cottage Homes managed by an Education Committee was noted. Special features were as follows: a first-class Domestic Science School, swimming bath, gymnasium and handicraft room. The homely atmosphere in a Scattered Home was also noted. The children possessed treasures of their own which they kept about the house, in chests-of-drawers or chosen places. They went to the pictures and enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom. They brought in their friends to tea, and rushed in and out to see their foster mother like children in their own homes.

198. Numerous examples could be given of Homes in which these simple provisions were lacking. Even where, by dint of the good organisation of those in charge, special efforts had been made to improve the opportunities for play, these opportunities were sometimes not used to the full because of ignorance of the needs of children.

Scattered Home. Twelve boys and girls.

"There is a small dining room which is of a cottage parlour type, and is heated by a coal fire. This room is generally used as a playroom because the actual playroom is said to be very cold and dark. The playroom is

perhaps adequate for six or seven children, but is little more than a bare space and lacking in any sort of attractiveness for children. It contains a few toys of the 'push' and 'pull' variety. The back garden at the end of a small tiled yard is walled and has recently been grassed down. In one corner is a covered sandpit in which the children were busily playing. This has only lately been arranged personally by the Public Assistance Officer."

Single Home for short stay. Old Poor Law Institution. Twenty-seven boys and girls.

"The dark dining room, with windows too high for the children to look out, is the only playroom. On Sunday morning at 11 a.m. on a sunny summer day, all the children were in a small asphalt yard with nothing whatever to play with. First seen they were lolling about by empty dustbins, a few sitting on broken chairs, others running aimlessly round. There was a general atmosphere of boredom and bickering. I was told that they sometimes went into the front garden, but they were evidently in the yard because supervision could be given to them from the kitchen. The only toys seen were a small model aeroplane (a personal possession proudly shown by one boy), one or two small broken wooden toys, a ball or two, and a few picture books. These were kept in a cupboard in the dining room. The matron said that the children sometimes helped her in the garden. They had no gardens of their own."

At one Home there was a good garden but the children were not allowed to play in it without special permission. We seldom found any signs of pets except in Scattered Homes which almost always possessed a cat.

Outside Contacts

199. It was interesting to find that in quite a number of instances the Homes which provided the best recreational facilities of their own were also those which made most use of the activities of the children in the neighbourhood. The general view that it is a serious handicap to children to be too much isolated from the community to which they will eventually return seems to have been accepted by the staffs of many Homes though this belief was more evident in plans for recreation than in the general freedom allowed to children to come and go. There were comparatively few Homes from which the children were able to make friends with local children and visit their families or entertain them at the Home. At one large urban Grouped Cottage Home we were told that visits by the Home children to other children were deprecated because the Home children picked up bad manners. The Homes from which the older boys and girls were allowed to go off by themselves to villages or towns to explore, shop and visit the cinema were few. The visitor was often told that the spending money of the children had so little value that there was nothing for them to buy.

200. The following extracts, however, illustrate some of the ways in which the more enterprising Homes had given their children opportunities to share, in a natural way, in the life of the community.

Grouped Cottage Homes. 221 boys and girls.

"Girl Guides share in many outside functions. Boys are members of the church choir. Older boys are members of an outside club. The children are encouraged to make outside contacts, and they can go out on their own after asking the permission of the Superintendent, who tells them to tell their foster mother. They can go out to tea with school friends, and can also bring their own friends in to tea. Senior Schools outside share the

playing fields of the Home. Matches are played both away and at home. Excursions and picnics are arranged. Members of the Rotary Club take a personal interest in individual children, and invite them to their homes."

Single Home. 29 boys.

" Boys belong to the Scouts and Cubs and mix with other boys outside. The boys over the age of ten, and even some of those of nine, are allowed to go out into the town by themselves and they do shopping for the foster-parents, go on the bus, and so on. They evidently have considerable freedom. They go to school on their own. They recently went to the zoo with their Sunday school. Scouts and Cubs go to camp, but otherwise no holiday is provided."

Scattered Home. 21 boys and girls.

" There seems to be real care taken to provide good outside activities for the children, bringing them into touch with the local community. Matron says that there is only one evening a week when all the children are at home. They belong to the Guides and Brownies in Church of England and Roman Catholic Groups, and Methodists go to the Junior Guild. There is a Choral League in connection with the Guides which the girls attend. The children occasionally invite their own school friends in, and are occasionally invited out. Expeditions are made to the local town for shopping. Matron is reviving birthday parties, and tries to see that each child gets a parcel or card from the staff if not from their own relatives."

201. In contrast to these reports unnecessary limitations would seem to be placed on the outside activities of the children in the following Homes:

Scattered Home. 24 boys and girls.

" There seemed an unnecessary lack of ordinary relationships with the people in the village. The children never go to other children's homes, or have other children in to visit them. They go in groups to local entertainments. They have few visits."

Single Home. 30 boys and girls. Two houses.

" There are no special arrangements in regard to leisure activities, but the children go to the local baths from the age of twelve upwards. There are practically no outside contacts except those entailed by attendance at Sunday school and day school. One of the foster mothers said that the children do some shopping for her, but she does not allow them to take money."

Contact with Relatives

202. It was unusual for children to have any regular contact with relatives by visits. Most of the children received no letters at all. On the whole the staff's attitude to this was one of sympathy but acceptance of its inevitability. It seemed generally to be assumed that the children had been deserted and that in most cases the parents had proved themselves unworthy of guardianship. The possibility that some children might have relatives, who with encouragement might take an interest in them, seemed an idea which had never been really considered, at any rate by members of the staff. From the comments that were made to us it seemed that relatives who did continue to take an interest in the children, and whose visits were approved by the local authority, were received with reasonable hospitality, and that recognised monthly visiting days were not restricted too rigidly. There seemed to be no objection on the part of local authorities to holidays with relatives if the homes were found to be suitable. Such holidays are sometimes arranged, but apparently for only a very small proportion of the children.

203. Comments were more often made to us by the administrative officers about the difficulties that arose when undesirable parents became interested in children as soon as they reached wage earning age, than about the deprivation suffered by the children from the lack of family contacts. This danger may unduly influence their attitude from a genuine motive of protecting the child's interests.

204. Many of the staff seem to recognise the children's delight in receiving letters although they are also aware of the danger that letters might "unsettle" the children; we found few exceptions to the practice of opening all the children's letters before passing them on. Usually the outgoing letters were looked at. In one Home, three-quarters of the children had letters sometimes from relatives and friends and the staff took pains to write to those children who had no letters for birthdays and Christmas. It seems usual to encourage the children to write letters and to provide them with stamps when necessary.

Holidays

205. In peace-time, holidays arranged by the Home seem to have been fairly frequent though not by any means universal. These arrangements had been abandoned in most of the Homes during the war but we found several Homes in which camping holidays had been arranged during the summer of 1945, sometimes in the face of considerable difficulty. For instance in two single Homes for boys the master and matron had managed to arrange a camping holiday for 24 and 21 boys respectively in spite of the fact that they had no assistants. At one girls' Home 26 girls were being taken to a seaside house for a holiday. Summer camping holidays lasting from a fortnight to a month were more usual for Grouped Cottage or Single Homes than for Scattered Homes. For small Homes the more usual plan was to arrange for day excursions to the seaside, visits to a zoo or to the cinema. We found one instance of separate boys' and girls' Scattered Homes joining up for an expedition. In several Homes where boys who were Scouts and Cubs normally went camping with outside troops, no special holiday had been arranged for the other children.

Pocket Money

206. We did not find any Homes containing children of school age in which pocket money was not given. It seems the general practice for Committees to decide the rate of pocket money in accordance with age. In some cases the scale did not seem to have been revised for some time; in others there had been recent revision or the need for revision was recognised as overdue. There was a wide disparity in the rates. The weekly allowances quoted to us varied from a penny for children under seven to a maximum of sixpence for children under five. For older children allowances varied from a minimum of fourpence for children under ten to a maximum of two shillings for children over eleven. In one case the highest amount at fourteen was threepence. It was, as already noted, a common saying that there was little which the children could buy with the money. The general practice in buying wholesale at least a proportion of the sweet ration, prevented the kind of spending which was probably the most usual for outside children before the war. It was evident that the lowest of the scales would make satisfactory spending impossible for the little child and would hinder the development of any capacity to save. In some Homes a practice had arisen of encouraging the children to put some of their pocket money in a general pool for treats. This left the children with nothing to spend at their own choice or for presents.

Methods of Up-bringing

207. We find this the most difficult part of our observations to estimate and summarise. There are three main strands of evidence which together have to be taken into account in judging whether the Home is providing the children with conditions in which they thrive, mentally and physically, in which sensible and lasting social habits are formed, and in which children develop, in accordance with their age, an awareness of the opportunities and responsibilities of ordinary life in the community. The evidence which we could use was:

- (1) Our observation of the children, and discussion, sometimes with groups, and occasionally with individuals with or without the presence of the staff.
- (2) The attitude of the members of the staff shown in the account they gave of their own methods and views, and in their relations with the children in so far as we could observe them.
- (3) The general conditions of the children's lives as they were described or seen—for example the personal attention which is possible with the amount of staff available; the space, comfort and attractiveness of the room in which the children slept, played and had their meals.

Apart from certain broad judgments as to the general well-being of the children it is not in our view possible in visits of this type to estimate the skill of individual handling or to be sure that children are not misunderstood or even harshly treated. This would involve more prolonged visits, and the use of other sources of evidence. Subject to this we think that the physical care of children reached a much more satisfactory standard than the development of the child's whole personality, though the two cannot of course be separated. The worst Homes were often bad from both stand-points. As we have already seen, good social habits cannot easily be acquired in crowded, ill-equipped and poorly repaired rooms nor can the child develop the capacity to care for himself in such conditions as are described in paragraphs 169 or 198. Conditions as bad as these were unusual. We were more concerned about the opportunities for children to develop their own interests, to look after themselves and their possessions, and to learn co-operation and general social adaptability through experience.

208. Discussion with a few older girls showed that they had very little idea of the cost of the clothes they wore. Still less did they realise the difficulties of the ordinary person in providing the coupons and money for replacements when clothes wore out or were damaged. To them, both clothes and food appeared with unfailing regularity, and the problem of ways and means never came their way. With some exceptions the children were without personal possessions, or, if they had them, they had no encouragement to look after them, or to respect the possessions of other children. Few children were allowed to collect their own pictures and photographs and have them in their bedrooms as children in ordinary households do, particularly children who are separated from their families, if they are left to their own devices. It is obviously inconvenient from the stand-point of routine management and cleaning to have bedrooms and dormitories made untidy by the sort of knick-knacks dear to the hearts of children, and it is possible that the overburdening of the staff has a bearing on their willingness to allow this kind of individual freedom. Nevertheless we felt that the often stark-looking dormitories and bedrooms must seem completely lacking in comfort and individuality to children. Here are two contrasting examples.

Single Home. Short stay. Twenty-seven boys and girls. Temporarily used as a Children's Home.

"The entrance hall is dark and of a typical Poor Law Institution character. There is dilapidated furniture in the entrance and long dark stone flagged corridors. The dining room has high windows well above even adult eye-level, and is dark and cheerless. The long narrow dormitories containing rows of iron bedsteads and cots were formal and ugly. There is no place for individual possessions."

Scattered Home. Twenty-one boys and girls.

"There is a small playroom containing a large locker for toys, a table and several dolls' houses. This is a pleasant room: it looks homely for young children. The dining room has small tables attractively arranged and decorated with flowers. A number of book-shelves were well filled. The bedrooms each contained eight to ten beds with white coverlets. A specially designed locker shelf used in all the Public Assistance Homes in this county, stands by each bed. The whole place is beautifully kept and is a pleasure to visit. The entrance hall immediately gives the impression that the Home is occupied by children, with rocking horses and dolls' houses in evidence."

209. We noticed specially in almost every Home, either a distressing dearth of pictures or, what was worse, a collection of ugly, uninteresting pictures which appeared to have been thrown out as valueless from other houses. Even in Homes in which the pictures were good (one Master had arranged for an excellent selection of good pictures to be supplied) they were often hung too high to be seen by the children lest they should pull them down and hurt themselves. We very seldom saw bright pictures at eye level of attractive subjects such as would appeal to children. One Scattered Home which possessed two large copies of a not unattractive picture of the Good Shepherd had both as decoration in the same small room.

210. It was the exception rather than the rule to find children in the Homes who were not either unduly hungry for attention from visitors, or more constrained in their relation with adults than is usual for children of their age. We do not mean to imply by this, that the children were seriously neglected, or treated with deliberate personal harshness or rigidity. Our impression was rather that the lack of understanding of children's needs led with the best intentions to a dreary uninteresting life in many of the Homes, and that this showed itself in a lack of liveliness and vigour in the children. The Homes seemed to be rather silent places except when active group games were being played. Children who were not helping in the house often gave the impression of spending their time in an aimless way, and even the little children were less busily and happily occupied than in a family where they were being well cared for, in a Nursery School, or even in street play. It is difficult to give any exact evidence of this, but the difference in the attitude of the children was so marked in those Homes where we felt that the staff had an unusually good understanding of the children and an easy personal relationship with them that it seemed likely that the lack of spontaneity, which we found in some of the children, was closely connected with the attitude of the adults towards them and the general lack of satisfaction in their daily lives. Even when the children were observed at play under fairly free conditions—on the sands from a sea-side Home, or in the garden—there seemed to be a lack of variety and resourcefulness in their play compared with that of other children of similar age.

211. A few illustrations can be given of our impressions of the children, but it must be realised that these are somewhat haphazard, dependent upon the day

of the week and the time of day on which we happened to visit. We were not satisfied with the general liveliness and happiness of the children in these Homes:

Single Home. Twenty-seven boys and girls.

"The house was very clean but somewhat comfortless, and the children somewhat suppressed, shy and unnatural in speaking to strangers. There seemed very limited opportunities for outside contacts. As far as one could gather from general observation the children were reasonably well cared for, though a bit slow and dull. The main defect of this place is that for the children it contains, life has to develop more from the circumference to the centre than by any growth of the children's own powers operating from the centre outwards."

Single Home. Twenty-four boys and girls.

"Although these children had the freedom of the garden they were not playing with the resourcefulness characteristic of their ages. This may partly have been due to lack of material, partly to lack of individual interest. They gathered immediately round the visitor, showing the intense desire for individual attention characteristic of children with some 'emotional hunger'. Most of the children seemed immature for their ages. There did not seem much warmth between the Matron and the children, but there was no constraint or fear. They are probably reasonably happy, but undeveloped."

On the other hand there were Homes in which we got a very different impression, and these were sometimes under the same local authority, a fact which pointed to the much greater importance of the personality of the staff than of any system by which the services were run. For example:

"In these Cottage Homes the foster mothers were young and obviously both interested in their work. At the time of our visit most of the boys were washing and getting ready for tea—stripped to the waist—full of life and good spirits. There was going to be fish for tea. (There are 16 in each house, which we thought too many. The accommodation is meant for twelve.) One or two boys were playing parlour games and two were out of doors playing with the swings at the back of the house. The boys have nice lockers in which they keep a variety of odds and ends of their own. They go out to Scouts and also to tea with friends and they can ask their friends to tea with them. They take a keen interest in football and the Social Welfare Officer had promised to do his best to get a corner on the stand at the local football ground for the older boys on the following Saturday for the Cup Tie Match. The House was seething with excitement at the thought of it."

Scattered Home. Accommodation 14.

"There is a very happy relationship in this Home between the foster mother and her 14 boys. She has been in the work for a number of years and obviously understands boys and how to get on with them. At the time of my visit some were playing halma with her and others were drawing with crayons or reading. The boys go out to the local Church Scouts and are also often allowed to go out by themselves by bus or to such amusements as the neighbouring fair."

Nurseries

212. It was a common practice to separate the infants from the toddlers and older children in separate nurseries. Where the infants' nurseries were nearby, it was very rare for older children to have any contact with the babies or for the babies and toddlers to associate with the next stage in age. The babies consequently suffered a certain loss of stimulus and interest and in some cases they

actually appeared to be retarded. Where there was more mixing of ages the toddlers appeared better developed and they talked more. We came across a notable exception at a set of Cottage Homes in which the children had great freedom. They played in extensive grounds and were able to make friends with the babies who were accommodated in a separate nursery adjacent to the cottages. The children looked very healthy and wore individual and brightly coloured clothes.

213. On the whole the nursery units of whatever kind were better run than other types of Home. We saw some excellent Single Home nurseries set in large grounds and very pleasantly decorated. In only one or two cases did we see nurseries of mediocre standard where the children, though not dirty, smelt unpleasant and were not so carefully looked after as others. There were far more toys in the nurseries than in the other Homes and much greater efforts had been made to provide brightness and lightness in decoration. Even in this there was considerable difference in enterprise. In some cases the nurseries had bright curtains, mats and coverlets; in others everything was drab. In some the black iron cots had been enamelled white or pastel colours: in others they remained black. Not many of the nurseries had perambulators and there was little evidence that the babies often got an airing outside the grounds. Progressive authorities provided sandpits, paddling pools and perambulators but these were infrequent. The residential nurseries which were also training centres seemed more lively and happy. The young trainees (very much the ages of the older girls in Homes) played with the children and taught them to speak.

Methods of Discipline

214. We did not find that discussion with the staff of actual methods of discipline, rules and regulations was very illuminating, except in throwing light upon their general attitude towards the children. Punishments and rewards carry meaning for the child largely in terms of his feeling for the person who administers them, and must therefore be considered in terms of personal relationship as well as of method. Moreover, descriptions of punishments given in general terms are notoriously unreliable, often when there is no attempt to mislead. In some areas the form of punishment is regulated by the Public Assistance Committee and punishment books are kept. We met with only one complaint that this was hampering to the house mother's judgment about what kind of handling was best for the individual child. Corporal punishment is strictly limited by statutory order.

" She criticised the rule that boys should not be slapped (laid down by the Committee), as she thinks it often healthier to slap them and get it over rather than to deprive them of activities. This would, I am sure, be done mildly and in good part. A punishment book was seen and contained entries such as " sitting instead of playing on the beach," " kept in from play." There were not many punishments entered. The entries were signed by the Master of the local Public Assistance institution who was finally responsible for the running of the Home. These boys seemed on good terms with the house mother."

Some typical reports about discipline are:

Single Home. Thirty-five boys and girls.

" The normal punishment is by putting the child to bed and depriving him of privileges. A drastic punishment is only given by order of the committee. The superintendent said that there was very little corporal punishment. Pocket money is sometimes stopped. This can only be done if authorised by the committee. Another form of punishment is by giving extra domestic work."

Single Home. Forty boys.

"The children are punished mainly by being put to bed, but they are occasionally slapped."

Scattered Home. Twelve boys and girls.

"For bed-wetting or food pilfering, children may be sent to bed, kept from attending Guides, docked in pocket money."

In one Home we found a small boy in bed on Sunday afternoon because "he had been running about outside when Master likes them to keep quiet."

The Treatment of Difficult Children

215. On the whole the members of the staff to whom we talked did not appear unduly troubled about the behaviour of the general run of the children who came to them. We came across few instances of children getting seriously out of hand although some were recognised as defective or unstable. There were probably fewer complaints of children being "unmanageable" than in many elementary schools. The main difficulties reported were general "backwardness," bed-wetting, pilfering and destructiveness; perverted behaviour was reported in a few instances. It would not be safe to assume from this that children did not show other kinds of difficulties. Experience has shown that certain kinds of behaviour tend to be picked out for special comment by staff in charge of children and that those whose "problems" are of a more personal kind and less troublesome tend to pass without comment. It is perhaps of interest that we were hardly given any example of children who were unduly shy or solitary, of children who had special fears, or who developed food fads or special difficulties, though it is unlikely that Home children are any less liable to such troubles than children who are living more normal lives—indeed the evidence of experienced witnesses suggests the contrary. What is more probable is that members of the staff are not aware of these things as difficulties, or, that if they are, they do not think they are worth mentioning.

216. Defective and dull children cause difficulty in many of these Homes and they are to be found in considerable numbers. In two of the Cottage Homes that we visited there was a group of children "certified" (Education Act, 1921) as feeble-minded and attending a day special school, owing to the lack of accommodation for them in a residential special school. The Medical Officer of Health of a Home caring for ten such children said that some of them were low grade feeble-minded, and not suitably catered for in Homes intended for normal children. In one single Home in a county with no special schools, either day, or residential, there were two defective boys under statutory supervision (Mental Deficiency Act, 1913): both were attending an occupation centre. Particulars about these boys were obtained from the local Association for Mental Welfare. One boy, aged 14, was feeble-minded, and had been excluded from elementary school because he was detrimental to other children; the other, aged 10, was an imbecile and "notified" as ineducable. Both these boys appeared to be well cared for, but they were an added burden to a seriously overworked staff. In one Home three children belonging to the same family were seen, and all were regarded, apparently with reason, as defective, though they were not certified. The eldest, a girl of fourteen, had been tried in training for domestic service, and had been returned as "untrainable." She was said to be disturbing to both boys and girls on account of her sexual behaviour, but was being kept on for the time being to help in the Home. One of the brothers had also a marked speech defect, and both the boys were seen to be teased by the brighter ones in the group. The house mother in a particularly well-run Scattered Home found that her chief difficulties centred round two adolescent girls, who, in the opinion of the Public

Assistance officer, were defective, though one had not been examined, and the other was not regarded as defective on examination. One of these girls, aged thirteen, attending an Elementary school, was unable to read, write or tell the time, and refused to do any work in the Home. In another Home under the same authority, two girls were regarded as defective, and one, aged twelve, was said to be having a bad influence over the other girls because of her abnormal behaviour. The Master had tried to keep her separate from the other children but had found this impossible to manage. The cases quoted were the most outstanding examples of actual or apparent defect: many more children were described as dull and backward.

217. Bed-wetting stands out as the most frequent complaint in Homes but with one or two exceptions it did not seem to be a chronic problem with most of the children in the Homes we visited. We found one Home of forty boys, three-quarters of whom wet their beds, though not all regularly. No special advice seemed to have been asked about this and there seemed no obvious reason to account for it. The boys seemed happy and well-cared for. The physical care of the children was good. There was an upstairs lavatory and a light provided. One house mother in a Grouped Cottage Home said that half her thirty boys wetted their beds when they first came but only four still continued to do so. Most of the foster mothers said that it was the usual thing for children to wet their beds when they first came and it seemed a general practice to start them off with rubber sheeting. On the whole the handling of this problem, which is as perplexing and irritating as any with which staff have to deal, seemed sensible and tolerant. In most cases it was regarded as a symptom. According to the statements of members of staff, punishment was very seldom used and compulsory sheet washing was rare though in one Home we were told that the elder girls did the washing voluntarily. The cutting of drinks in the evening seemed to be the exception rather than the rule. In most Homes, there was a routine raising of such children at 10 o'clock. In one Home the most successful course was said to have been to allow boys, who had been dry for a fortnight, to wear pyjamas rather than night-shirts. Prescriptions were occasionally given by medical officers. In a few Homes the staff had tried various methods but had found no solution and regarded the problem as hopeless. For the most part it was regarded as an unfortunate habit but a few members of staff with whom we discussed it had gone further and had become interested in the relation between the habit and the child's feeling of security. Several members of staff said that they would have been glad to have the advice of the Child Guidance Clinic on this and other problems. One matron said that she noticed that when children were ill they did not wet their beds and she attributed this to the fact that they were getting the extra attention which they needed. She did not think that punishments or rewards were much good.

218. Destructiveness was mentioned most often in relation to boys except in one or two cases where it was a more serious problem. It was seldom realised how closely this problem was linked with the lack of play material (sand, clay, water, wood). The description given by one house mother of a Scattered Home illustrates the kind of behaviour which might perhaps be expected in a Home in which there was little material for play indoors and where the small garden was given up to vegetables with the result that the boys were met with a "keep off" notice as soon as they left the house.

Scattered Home. Eighteen boys aged 5-15½.

"Most of the boys appear to be backward. Several boys of twelve or so could not tell the time. The house mother complained of their destructiveness and said that she had not been able to let them out by themselves in the neighbourhood because a group of boys had interfered with the electric engine

on a local farm. Books were torn, toys broken. There is some stealing, but this is generally due to the admission of new boys who may have been taught to steal by their parents. One boy, particularly difficult, dull, destructive, using bad language, tears his sheets, throws things at other boys and when reproached, soils himself. He is to be examined by the doctor of a local Child Guidance Clinic who will see him at the Public Assistance institution."

The mixture of ages, and lack of opportunities for grouping the children so that they could spend their play time in ways normal to their age seemed in some cases to account for destructiveness. Shortage of staff undoubtedly added seriously to this problem. In one Home, for example, the age range varied from 5 to 16. There were twenty-two boys below the age of seven, and sixteen over this age. The Superintendent and his wife, who had no resident assistant, and only one part-time cleaner, said that it was quite impossible to run a Home with this grouping. There was only one room used also as a dining room, in which all these boys played together. The following description is therefore hardly surprising:

"The children were all playing together. There seemed to me to be too many younger boys compared with the older boys. No one exercises any supervision over them when they are playing games as the Matron and the Superintendent are too busy There are hardly any games in the playroom and practically no books. The boys were so destructive that it was no use letting them have games or books. This indicates a serious lack of care."

219. Pilfering was less often mentioned than destructiveness, and seemed mainly attributable to a few of the more difficult children. In one or two instances we were told of boys who were admitted from bad homes. One house-mother in a Scattered Home said that she had occasionally found newly admitted boys taking things from other boys' lockers in the middle of the night, and she thought that they must have been influenced in this kind of behaviour by their parents. Another house-mother was troubled by pilfering from the store cupboard for which she had found a very difficult adolescent girl responsible.

220. In several Homes the help of a psychiatrist or psychologist or children's physician would have been welcomed by those in charge. In a few cases the child had been sent direct to a local clinic, or arrangements had been made for him to be examined by a psychiatrist from a local mental hospital or child guidance clinic. We found few instances in which treatment had been carried out during the child's stay in the Home: there were only one or two areas where this would have been practicable. In one area a county psychiatrist was available to visit individual Homes in the area, but we did not happen to come across any of the Public Assistance Homes in which children had been examined by him. In one county borough an Educational Psychologist had recently been appointed, and the master and matron very much welcomed this appointment and were looking forward to her help with some of the more difficult children. With one or two exceptions we found very little evidence that the child guidance service had begun to play a part in helping the staff of Homes with difficult children. The provision of these clinics is not yet on a sufficient scale to make them readily accessible.

Religious Care

221. The part played by religion in the lives of Home children naturally depended upon the religious convictions of those in charge of the children. For instance at a cottage for toddlers aged three to five we saw the children being put to bed. The young house-mother in charge of them had taught

them all to stand round her with their hands together and repeat a short prayer and sing a short hymn. At another Single Home the matron had taught all the older children to say a prayer before getting into bed, but she spoilt the effect of this in one case, by getting up a bewildered little girl to say "a prayer to the lady". It was not our impression that formal religion was imposed on the children in the Homes, though Church attendance was the accepted programme on Sundays. In some Homes there were short prayers morning and evening; in some grace was said at meals but neither practice was general. Care was taken to see that the children either attended a place of worship of their own denomination or, if this was not possible as sometimes in the case of Jewish children, that a service was specially held for them inside the Home. In many instances the children belonged to the choir or to organisations attached to the church. Membership of the choir seemed to play an important part since it gave the boys an opportunity for service and the community an opportunity to appreciate the Homes. Boys in Homes are often the mainstay of the choir; in this respect they have an advantage not enjoyed by the girls. For many children church seemed to be the only means given them for enjoyment of music and singing, apart from the wireless programmes. Our impression was that the staff did not find in Ministers of Religion any special encouragement apart from the valuable offering of activities to the children. We came across some Grouped Cottage Homes which had their own Chaplain who was said to be very interested in the children. As one matron said "The Vicar comes in and out quite naturally as the friend of the whole family". The other end of the scale was reached with the remark of a master and matron, "We never see the clergy unless they come to make a complaint".

After Care and Choice of Careers

222. Apart from such considerations as we have already noted, that the lack of stimulus and interest provided for young children in certain Homes may result in retarded mental development at an age when the young people should be preparing for work, there was a good deal of evidence that in most Homes the question of a career was not considered sufficiently early. At an age when in the normal home friends and relations are asking "What does he want to do?" the Home child is often leading a docile regular life without any responsibility or excitement and with very few interests connected with life outside the Home. Such a child must be at a hopeless disadvantage unless those responsible for him make a point of considering his abilities and discussing with him what he wants to do. It is very rare to find that, where a boy or girl is not apparently gifted in any particular way, any psychological test or help is sought, so that technical instruction of a suitable kind can be given as early as possible. The choice of careers and after-care seemed to be either the concern of the staff of the Home or of the local authority responsible. Occasionally the boarding out visitor acted for the department. In one case the matron in charge of Grouped Cottage Homes told us that she greatly resented the work done by the Public Assistance Committee in finding work for her children. She felt that she could do much better for them and could keep an eye on them as well. Neither in the case of the department nor in that of the individual master and matron was there much evidence of consultation with the Juvenile Employment Service. It was generally the custom to combine after-care with the choice of careers so that the same person was responsible for both. In some Homes it seemed to be recognized that the boys or girls were not of good enough calibre for skilled occupations, and that the best that could be done for them was to find them a job on a farm or in domestic service. It was clear in many instances that no special study was made of the aptitudes or special interests of the children.

There had in some areas grown up a long-standing tradition that girls with a little experience of housework might become available for domestic service through the matron, and the girls seemed to be given little opportunity for hearing about other types of employment and for sharing in the choice of employment that would have been open to them outside. It must be recognised, as one of the possible difficulties in choosing a career, that homeless children have special needs at the school leaving age. Residential employment has obvious advantages, particularly for girls, at a time when lodgings are scarce. Nevertheless in our view nothing could justify the lack of care which seemed often to be shown in choosing employment best suited to the abilities of children deprived of normal home life, since the right kind of employment must be one means of compensating them for their loss. In some areas hostels are provided for working boys and girls from Homes and for other children lodgings are found. More trouble was taken in some Homes to find employment of a varied and individually suitable kind for the boys than for the girls.

223. As regards supervision after the boys and girls have been placed in employment, we found that arrangements were sometimes made for a lad to call in at the Public Assistance (or Social Welfare) office for supplements to his wages. Supervision was also exercised over the payments made to his landlady and the allowance made to him for spending money. This kind of supervision was not thought to be necessary where the master and matron were continuing to look after a boy. A good deal of reliance seemed to be placed upon the employer or the boy or girl to get into touch with the person responsible for supervision when things went wrong. We gained the impression that after-care was a haphazard affair which depended too much on the time and good will of staff often already overworked. In a single Home run by a master and matron with an assistant nurse several boys had been sent to farms. One of these was said to have been returned to the Home four times. He told us that he hated farming but the master appeared to think that farming was the only work in which the Public Assistance Officer could place him. Often boys about to go on to farms said that they did not want to do this kind of work.

224. We found a number of instances in which boys and girls revisited Homes in which they had been brought up and many masters and house-mothers referred to letters which they received from them. We heard quite often of boys who came back for weekends or when on leave and once or twice of girls who brought their babies to be shown off to members of the staff. In one Home old boys were welcomed to the holiday camp. On one occasion a taxi driver taking us to an orphanage volunteered the information that he had himself been brought up in a Public Assistance Cottage Home and had recently taken his own boy to see it.

HOMES MANAGED BY VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

225. A large proportion of the children with whom this Committee was concerned were found to be in the care of the different charitable organisations which provided for homeless children. These organisations varied widely in size, funds and capacity. At one end of the scale were the three large societies each caring for thousands of children in Homes established all over the country; at the other, were the small villa Homes, managed by a local committee and financed as a local charity, for seven or ten local children. A large number of these organisations, both great and small, owe their inspiration to the religious denomination to which they belong. In their Homes they take the children of their own denomination as their first concern, although many are

willing to accept any child falling within a general religious classification such as "Protestant." Where the organisation caters strictly for children of its own faith there is often a reciprocal arrangement with other organisations to transfer to each other children outside the special category for which they provide. Often societies provide Homes for a particular type of child, e.g., the legitimate, the illegitimate, girls, boys, children of fathers in certain trades and occupations, fatherless or motherless children, the crippled, blind or defective. In the case of some endowed Homes strict specialisation has been a source of embarrassment as the terms of the trust under which some charities have been established have precluded the acceptance by societies of children outside their normal category. The improved provision for the maintenance of children in their own homes, and the special arrangements prevalent in a number of areas for the fostering of illegitimate children, have tended to reduce the normal population of such Homes. We found in our visits several Homes partly empty, which belonged to organisations whose main purpose could no longer easily be carried out.

226. We visited in all 140 Homes managed by voluntary organisations. The number of children provided for in these Homes was 10,217.

227. In the main the Homes run by the voluntary organisations expressed the sincere and general desire of their founders to do good to those in special need, and to make provision for the homeless child at a period in the nation's history when the statutory services were not as developed as they are to-day. Although often hampered by large buildings, which made difficult the individual relationships so necessary to the full effectiveness of their work, there was no indication that as a group the voluntary Homes fell below the general level of child care now obtaining throughout the country. In many instances they were well above it.

228. Speaking generally, the Homes under the control of a central organisation have the advantage of an enlightened general policy and the greater opportunities open to a large organisation for making good staff appointments. Those in charge of the Homes are better able to exchange ideas with other workers in the same field. On the whole therefore a good average standard can more readily be attained than in the small independent Homes. In some instances, however, there is a tendency for the local committee of a central organisation to be guided by old-fashioned ideas, as for example that domestic service is the only outlet for girls. We found too that there was a danger that the central office might be too far away to be closely in touch, and where this was so an independent keen local committee might have been much better and more progressive than one whose sense of responsibility had been weakened by distant control. In the independent Homes, there is a much greater variety of standard, ranging from the very good to the definitely bad. Where a strong local interest in the Home exists, as it often does, the committee may be a great source of strength to those in charge; and the greater freedom to experiment that comes of independence is itself an advantage where the aim is good. Financial stringency however often limits the amenities that the independent Home is able to offer.

229. The funds possessed by some organisations rendered them independent of any outside donations. The powers of inspection of the Home Office do not extend to Homes which are not maintained by charitable contributions nor, unless Public Assistance children are received, have the Ministry of Health any right to inspect. Until 1944, the Ministry of Education had no right to inspect a school maintained on such premises. In these Homes the children may be shut away from any outside contact or advice for the whole of their childhood; they may be in the hands of untrained and narrow-minded

staff with the result that they may go out into the world unprepared for ordinary life. We found such organisations in different forms professing different faiths and receiving different categories of children. They were, with few exceptions, alike in their disregard of new ideas and new methods in child care, in their misunderstanding of the needs of present day children, and in their failure to make any provision for the individual such as individual dress, possessions, and liberty. Other Homes were subject to inspection by one or other of the Government departments and the need of some to appeal for voluntary contributions from the general public tended to bring them into line with the community. Even so the standards we found varied widely from those which (whether the Homes were large or small) were able to provide the intimate, informal family atmosphere to those in which the life was institutional, formal and uninteresting.

Type of Home

230. In type the Homes were of much the same kinds as are described under Public Assistance Homes. There were a large number of institutional Homes of the "barrack" variety often with imposing buildings, built as a symbol of Victorian philanthropy and intended to catch the eye and to impress the passer by. In these Homes the rooms were often bare and comfortless, and so large that it was usually impossible to set aside any place for quiet occupations or hobbies. As voluntary effort became allied with modern ideas on child care more Homes were built in the style of Grouped Cottage Homes. While the cottages are not as small in size as the more enlightened societies would like, they do represent in their smaller groups and individual houses and grounds a very great advance upon the institutional home. Probably the bulk of the voluntary Homes visited fell into the Single Home group. These may be Homes established by a large organisation with central administration or Homes run by local committees, and they varied in size from Homes for 50 to Homes for 8. We came across no examples of voluntary Homes equivalent to Local Authority "Scattered Homes" though in a number of cases small single Homes in a row of houses of the same size and type were seen. Finally one or two of the large organisations had instituted a system of boarding out, in some cases only for babies, in others for the whole period of childhood.

231. In looking for Homes in a neighbourhood our attention was frequently drawn to unfortunate distinguishing names and notice boards. Such descriptions as "Orphanages" and "Orphan Homes," a "Home for Friendless Girls," a "Training Home for Young Servants," "Homes for Destitute Children," all seemed well calculated to mark off from their fellows the children thus labelled. Most Convent Homes and many others were distinguished by the names of saints though perhaps for this purpose there could be a better choice than the "Magdalen Home," which we found more than once. Many of the big organisations named their Homes in the same way as other houses of similar size and there were no notice boards to distinguish these Homes from other houses in the town or village.

Admission

232. The method of admission to voluntary Homes is in the case of the big organisations, through the Central Office and, in the case of other Homes, by application or nomination to the local committee. One or two of the biggest organisations possessed Receiving Homes through which the children were passed to the Home thought most suited to each child's age group and personality. In other cases after the completion of case history and medical records the case was considered in the central office and the child allocated from there. So far as we could judge, from viewing this process from the

receiving end, the actual allocation has recently depended more on whether there was a vacancy in any particular Home than on any other factor. It must be remembered in this connection that many organisations lost some of their Homes through bombing and requisitioning (often more devastating in its results than an air raid) and that others had had to be closed because of shortage of staff. Some of the heads of Homes seemed ignorant of the history of the children in their charge; others had been supplied with duplicates of the records kept at the central office. Admission to the smaller Homes may be by nomination or by application, or both. The particular case would be considered by the superintendent and the committee and admitted if it was considered to fall into the category for which the Home was established. In this case the child would come direct to the Home and any cleansing or special care would be given there.

Organisation

233. The Homes which attempted to split their children into groups, especially family groups, were few. By far the larger number were content to deal with the children in the largest group allowed by the premises at their disposal. If in any degree the voluntary Homes fail in their special purpose, it is in giving too much weight to traditional methods and too little to the modern outlook in child-care. The large structures which are the inheritance of the voluntary child-care workers of to-day necessitate mass methods unless great skill is used in breaking up the numbers into "houses" or other groups. The Chairman of one large institutional orphanage told us that it was almost impossible to break up his boys into groups because of the difficult construction of the mansion in which they lived, although he was trying to find some way of doing so. These large buildings are often the property of the particular society or committee concerned. Much as many would like to move or build, their chances of getting rid of the premises are slight and funds do not allow of the purchase of more modern buildings. Those organisations which possess smaller Homes or, in a few cases, Cottage Homes, are more fortunate, though, as in the Public Assistance Homes, the "cottages" are often too large for the name. The more progressive organisations have been gradually developing their provision for children more and more in small groups as near as possible to family groups. Where the cottages as originally built were too large for present-day ideas, some organisations have split even these cottage groups to bring the numbers down to 10 or 12. Some societies with large and unsuitable buildings have made an attempt to deal with the problem by placing their children in family homes during holiday periods so that the large institution no longer serves the purpose of a home, however unsuitable, but simply becomes a kind of boarding school.

Buildings

234. The use of large and unsuitable buildings to which we have referred not only precludes dealing with the children in small groups, but also often gives them a dreary and comfortless environment. The following are notes on some Barrack Homes we visited:

"The usual barrack type in a gloomy building. The best is made of the accommodation, but even then it is rather spartan, and cannot be described as home-like."

"An old barrack type building. There is a general poverty-stricken air about the whole place. It is difficult to get enough money to keep the Home going. The home generally is badly equipped. The boys were sitting down to dinner on forms at a long table, and the whole place looked dirty. There was one large bedroom with suitable beds and lockers. The whole

of the appearance of the home was spartan. None of the rooms was very clean. There was not the slightest suspicion of comfort or cheerfulness about the whole place."

"The building consists of large forbidding looking grey stone blocks, some of which have been occupied by a Service Department during the war. We were told that when it was inspected for Air-Raid Precautions, the comment made was that no further security measures would need to be taken as the building was already 'like a fortress,' and this was the impression it gave. The floors are bare stone or scrubbed unvarnished wood. The dining room is ugly and stark to the last degree, with long bare tables, wooden benches, and bare scrubbed board floors. I have never seen a children's Home more lacking in comfort and cheerfulness. There is nothing here that could delight the eye of any child, except perhaps in the playroom of the toddlers—no pictures, no flowers, no coloured curtains or cloths. The place is drab and scoured."

Sometimes in apparently hopeless buildings we found that much could be done by the provision of bright paint, small tables in the dining room, space for quiet reading, comfortable chairs, bright bedspreads, rugs and lockers to do away with the "barrack" appearance. In many Homes more attention to these comparatively inexpensive details would have done much to transform an ugly and comfortless building.

235. Side by side with these legacies of barrack buildings from earlier times has gone on the acquisition and adaptation of large country houses which find no ready market as private houses. Some of these Homes, by the skill of the people responsible and the staff, have been transformed into pleasant buildings of an informal kind set in informal grounds. Others which proved too expensive to modernise or to keep in repair have reached very low depths of provision for growing children. The following examples represent these extremes:

(1) "This Home is situated in a large private house in its own grounds. It is a delightful building for children. The accommodation is very good in all respects, it is a nice airy old manor house. The grounds are ideal for the purpose, and it has a very cheerful atmosphere. Obviously great care and attention are given to the children."

(2) "This is a large private dwelling, the oldest part of which is about 200 years old. There is a large garden, with beautiful trees, and the farm, at present let off, is part of the estate. In spite of the scale of the house, it has proved unusually adaptable for its purpose. The living rooms provide three good play-rooms—one used for toddlers (with lavatory and wash-basin adjoining, and good large low cupboards and shelves), one for boys, if they want to play separately, and one large pleasant room which can be used by all the older children. This room with wide windows over-looking the garden, has one wall lined with ample glass fronted book-cases and individual curtain-covered shelves below. There is plenty of room here for round games or for dancing. The few older girls also have a low ceilinged store room kept entirely for dolls play, surrounded by cupboards, decorated with toy tea sets, and full of dolls and prams and all the material for family play. This room is regarded as strictly their own and grown-ups only come in by invitation. In addition there is a squash court in the grounds which provides excellent space for romping play and for dramatics which can be watched from a little gallery. The sleeping rooms divide up well for different age groups, the largest containing about twelve beds, being used for older boys, and the three others, containing about eight beds, for girls and toddlers. The dining room has French windows opening on to a verandah. The children sit at tables for

about six, the staff scattered round with them. The tables are attractively arranged with bright American cloth and flowers. There is a good staff common room, and the Superintendent has a separate flat containing a bedroom and large sitting room, which can be locked for privacy."

(3) "A converted private house with a large secluded garden, two ample night nurseries with accommodation in each for about fifteen babies. Specially converted bathrooms are being provided with high baths of special design. There is an ample-sized play-room upstairs. Large-sized cubicles are provided for the staff, and there is a particularly comfortable sitting room with books (mainly fiction) and wireless. The whole house is very homelike and comfortable."

(4) "The whole house was in a dilapidated condition and had evidently not been repaired or painted for many years. Plaster was badly broken in several of the dormitories, and damp was coming in. The living-room is one large bare playroom on the second floor. The windows are still partly blacked out, the walls grey and the floor bare boards. There is not a chair or bench in the room, and boys were sitting on the floor. The dormitories were completely lacking in any sort of comfort or homeliness. The dining-room which can probably be used for play contains tables seating about 20 boys each. There were rather soiled table-cloths."

236. Only the wealthier organisations were able to build groups of Cottage Homes but those we saw were of good standard. We visited more than one group like the following:

"These cottages provided an excellent type of foster home and were managed by good house mothers. The standards were high and the children had many pleasures in a home-like and serene atmosphere. Here large cottages taking 20-24 children had been structurally altered to make two cottages each with its family of 10 under a trained house mother."

Both these organisations and many of the smaller societies or committees spread their children into several smaller Homes rather than continue to house them in one large building on institutional lines. Thus all over the country we found small Homes housing 20-30 children with a house mother or man and wife and an assistant, who were sharing the ordinary life of the village or town. Although a great deal larger than a family group these Homes had about them a family atmosphere and in the best of them it was plain that the children were very happy. What could be done in this way the following extract from one of our reports shows:

"At a Home which was a branch of a large voluntary organisation we saw a young foster mother and her assistant who were bringing up 20 little girls aged 5 to 14 in a pleasant villa on the outskirts of a large town. The Home looked much like other houses in the vicinity; there was nothing to distinguish it from its neighbours either by size or grounds. There was the usual tennis court and vegetable garden found attached to homes of this type. The House was not too large to be homely, and it was evident that it did represent home to the little girls who lived in it."

In contrast to this we saw another house of a similar type which had been taken over from a famous family and which was the picture of desolation:

"The place was rambling, inconvenient and incredibly bare. In the boys' rooms there was nothing to sit on and nothing to play with. Difficult as such a place must have been to use, it was not impossible and the plan of the building was such as to lend itself more readily to small sub-divisions than a more compact place. Nothing of this kind had, however, been tried and the boys lived, ate and slept in dormitories on much the same lines as a barrack home."

Staff

Qualifications

237. Our impression, based on such information as we were able to obtain, was that, of the Superintendents, about half were trained in some way for the purpose of their religious orders or denominations, or as nurses, Moral Welfare workers or teachers. The rest, often helpful and kindly and even outstanding in sympathy and common sense, were qualified only by experience. In some cases the experience was exceptionally valuable such as acting as nurse to children in a family. The subordinate workers had more frequently received some form of religious training than any other kind, e.g., Salvation Army, Church Army, the training of the Catholic orders. A fair number had received training and certificates from one of the big organisations giving training in child care, a few were teachers, nurses or nursery nurses. The remainder, by far the majority, had received no training other than experience. The wish for such training and its general desirability were frequently mentioned. Untrained staff had usually gained their experience with children in private families (one young house mother whose general attitude to the children was, we thought, excellent was a good example of the value of this type of experience) or from working as temporary house mothers or assistants or even from bringing up their own children or mothering their brothers and sisters. A few had had little to do with children before they found their place in the Home through the wartime shortage of staff but when they did find it they determined to stay.

Numbers

238. The ratio of staff to children varied very much as between Home and Home. On the whole it was low, sinking to a minimum of 1:17. The average in those Homes we visited was 1:7 but it must be remembered that in this assessment, a number of minor assistants count as staff who did not take responsibility or contribute much to relief. Those Homes which were either nurseries or which contained nursery units or nursery school units were generally better staffed (as in local authority Homes) than the Homes for older children. On the whole the centrally administered Homes were better staffed than the private or local Homes, no doubt because many of them provide training of their own for which they recruit. Homes which fell below efficiency level were found in both groups. In some Homes the staff was so inadequate that the whole of the domestic work had to be done by the children. At a Home for 30 boys we were told that the only assistance given to the master and matron was the evening visit of the local Vicar who stayed with the boys while the couple went out. This Home was at camp with the master and matron at the time of our visit. From what we could see it seemed beautifully kept, particularly the gardens which were said to be the master's pride. But it is doubtful how long any two people, however keen, can keep up work at this level and share holidays with the boys as well. This home, incidentally, provided an excellent example of a converted private house, showers, sluices, sanitary blocks, etc., having been added to the usual offices.

Relations with Children

239. We saw many Homes in which there was an easy and friendly relation between the children and the staff. In some, however, particularly the larger establishments, there was little sign of the confidence and affection which a good family background should foster; on the other hand there was seldom any sign of fear or dislike. In the main the children accepted the staff and seemed usually to develop some affection for them.

Examples of the different levels reached in this respect are:

Home for 60 boys, aged 5 to 16, a branch of a large organisation.

"These youngsters all looked very well cared for. I was impressed with their independence in going about their household duties, even the boys of eight or nine. One little chap was busily sweeping the passage after breakfast, singing happily as he did so. The children seemed natural and happy at their meals, talking and laughing, but without any rowdiness—whilst the visitors were having their meals at another table with the staff in the same room. They came in in order of age, but without any lining up or marching, and left, when dismissed, individually. They did not seem to need constant supervision from the staff, and one had the impression of children whose meal-time manners were well established and not artificial. The atmosphere for friendliness and comradeship in this Home was quickly evident. The children responded to adults as though they expected interest and sympathy and a common sharing of amusement. I was particularly impressed with the motherly care that was being given to little boys at bed-time. In spite of a big and rather formal dormitory, the Sisters seemed able to give these children a sense of cosiness and comfort, combined with orderliness."

Small independent Home. 16 girls.

"The Matron is an over-anxious woman of about 55, who has evidently been much burdened with the work and worry of wartime conditions (bombing nearby). Her manner with the children was 'fussy, possessive, and rather irritable.' She answered questions addressed to them, prompted them in what they said, and jumped on one child in front of the visitors for not having wiped her nose, sending her out of the room. Her outlook was a narrow one. The children seem to be over-protected and more fuss is made of their appearance than of their general development. The Matron speaks of being 'passionately fond' of some of them . . . These children cannot carry on an ordinary natural conversation with a stranger without embarrassment, constraint, giggling. The Matron finds a good many of them difficult. She mentions the frequency of nail-biting. She makes left-handed children use their right hands. She mentions particularly destructiveness, including clothes. She deplores 'tempers' and the 'saucy tongue' of one of the older girls. These children are not developing into vigorous independent individuals with a knowledge of the world into which they go. The Matron is doing her best, but her outlook is very circumscribed."

Physical Care

240. The physical care of children in the Homes covered by this section of our report was generally good. We did however find some Homes in which this aspect had been seriously neglected. For example:

"We did not see all the boys, but I was struck with the fact that the youngest looked in the best physical condition, and that the eldest boys looked in very poor condition indeed—thin, tired and listless. It seemed as though the more stable had survived the crude conditions, but that the less fit children who were growing rapidly had suffered from the poor physical care and the very bad sleeping conditions."

"These children were grossly overworked both during school years and afterwards, and some of them look pasty and tired, though not all of them."

In sharp contrast is the Home referred to in the first extract given in paragraph 239.

241. One disturbing fact noted on several reports was the lack of vivacity and natural ease of the older children compared with the generally high level of cheerfulness and healthiness of the younger children. They seemed in many instances listless and apathetic. This seems to indicate a measure of failure in providing and maintaining normal home conditions in those Homes where these evidences were observed. It is significant that in every instance where these facts were sufficiently marked to find a place in the visitors' report, the premises were all of the large, uncomfortable type where there were limited possibilities for arranging the children in smaller groups, or where such possibilities as existed were not used.

Clothing

242. The custom of dressing children alike in Homes and Orphanages with its stigma of "charity child" is fast dying out. We saw a few old endowed Homes in which a traditional uniform is still worn on formal occasions and the boys appeared to feel a pride in it. In one such Home only did we find that a uniform of this kind was worn every day at an outside school, marking the boys as coming from a "Home," especially as very heavy and unusual looking boots were worn with it. In a few other Homes the children were dressed alike though not in uniform. In one case this was because one of the big stores had generously given surplus window material. Although the little velvet dresses made from it were individually charming there was too much regimentation when two hundred little girls appeared in similar frocks. In the majority of Homes very great care had been taken to provide pretty individual dresses for the girls and different coloured jerseys for the boys. On the whole and considering the difficulties of the war and post-war period the standard of clothing in voluntary Homes was good. Comments, such as the following at Convents, were frequently made:

"Children most tastefully dressed in smocked frocks. Sister had a great collection of various coloured frocks, blue coats, etc., all very nice."

"Clothes individual and attractive. Gradually wearing out uniform coats and substituting individual coats in different colours."

In one small Home for twenty-four girls, aged five to fourteen, the Matron had bought a number of different coloured straw hats which she was trimming. She did not want her children to look "less nice" than others at their school. In very few instances was the clothing noted as poor and shabby or inadequate. In one such instance we were in a Home for twenty-four boys, locally and inadequately financed and managed by a superintendent described as "self-centred, complacent and content with a low level." He had no helper and desired none but his wife. "The boys (and their clothes) were grubby and unkempt and, in accordance with the superintendent's spartan notions, wore no underclothes." Occasionally we found Homes in which the clothing was dull and old fashioned. For instance at a Convent Home for girls and women of all ages the usual dress appeared to be white blouses and long tunics of old fashioned cut. This dress was worn by all inmates of whatever age except that the old ladies wore shawls in addition.

Diet

243. We saw a number of meals in progress, visited the larders and saw the diet books in a number of Homes. In very few was there any occasion for criticism about the feeding and serving of food or the quality of the food provided. Comments such as the following were frequent—

"Meals appeared excellent. Cooked breakfast, porridge or bacon, etc. Dinner: at the Home—meat, fish, raw salad, puddings. Tea: bread and

butter, jam, cake or cheese. Supper: 'bread and dripping, etc., milk. Many gifts of food—new laid eggs, syrup, fruit.'

"Home has its own garden with plenty of vegetables and fruit—also hens."

Great trouble was taken by some house mothers to bottle fruit and make jam. We found one Home managed by a Moral Welfare Association in which rations were not fully taken up, "because the girls over-ate and became lazy" and in one instance the comment was made by the management that the rationed allowances were not sufficient to keep the children healthy and happy. As rationing applies to all Homes the fault was probably one of the management rather than supply. In some cases we noted that the food was dull or monotonous or that the menus were the same for each week. In one or two we thought the amount provided insufficient. The reason given at one Home was that, although they had plenty of points, expense had to be cut down and they could not buy as much food as would have been available. As in local authority Homes advantage was seldom taken of school meals.

244. The serving of the meals seemed to us to have an important bearing on the value of food. There was great variation in these arrangements from long trestle tables and enamel plates and mugs to pretty separate tables and attractive cloths and china. At one Convent Home for eighty small girls we were told that they had enamel plates as they "might break china"; at another Convent Home for Mental Defectives we were told that the attractive floral china they used "helped them to learn to take care of it." Here is an account of a small local family Home for eight girls at tea: "Excellent food for tea. Bread and butter, cheese, golden syrup and buns. All sitting happily round a table, the elder girls spreading bread and treacle for the younger and taking charge most competently. They looked a delightful picture"

245. In certain Homes it was noticed that the Staff had their meals apart from the children or that although they ate in the same room they were given different food. The happiest atmosphere was found when Staff and children sat down together and it seemed probable that by this the children were helped to behave well and considerately at meals.

Medical Care

246. In the greater number of Homes the local doctor sees the children on arrival and afterwards only if required. In very rare cases the doctor visited at regular weekly or monthly intervals. In some large Homes there is an appointed Medical Officer who makes frequent visits and regular examinations. These Homes set a very high standard of medical attendance quite equal to that in the local authority Homes.

Daily Routine

247. Rising before 7 a.m. for children under 14 was only noted in a few cases. Even so there was a long day, in some cases well planned, in others monotonous and uninteresting and too much occupied with housework. Early rising was usually connected with the need for work to be done in the house, beginning with the immediate making of beds on rising so that they were never aired. In one Home where the boys rose at 6.15 a.m. each had a definite section of scrubbing to do before breakfast; and in other Homes a considerable amount of dusting and polishing is done. In several of these cases the Home building was large and barrack like, and it appears that the children suffer if such a place is to be kept in spotless order. In one large Convent Home, where a large amount of laundry work is done, the girls rise at 6.30. In most Homes children were required to do no more than

make their beds, keep their bedrooms tidy, help in laying out meals, in washing up and in a little cleaning. The work periods varied considerably. In a well staffed Home they might be as low as half an hour a day; in one or two unfortunate instances the housework even for school children was as much as four hours a day. In one Home of little boys aged 4 to 8 the Matron said that when they asked to do little jobs, wishing to be helpful, she encouraged them even if the jobs had to be done again. We thought that as a general practice too much use is made of boys and girls in housework for housework's sake rather than for its primary purpose of cleanliness and comfort. In some hands housework appeared to become an instrument of repression, a means of keeping children out of mischief, a daily discipline and even a punishment for misbehaviour. Such methods can only destroy any interest which boys and girls may have in looking after their home.

248. A totally different problem occurs in some small training Homes where work which could be done by two or three house-maids may be all the occupation for eight or nine girls who seldom go out. In one small Home of this kind a solution had been found by allowing two girls to go to daily work in the local Children's Hospital. In no kind of Home were we satisfied that the children doing housework receive a sufficiently thorough training in what they do. There is a real danger that the children may merely be solving the staff shortage or that housework is a simple way of providing occupation. There were, however, some Homes, particularly Homes for boys, which were working on more constructive lines. In one case the boys had certain "trades" (so called) which they learnt in turn and in another each boy had a job for a week.

249. In one notable instance, when the requirements of school hours and house duties had been met, there remained very little time for play, and scarcely any margin at all for free activities without direction.

"This family—a large one, over two hundred boys and girls of all ages—got up at six, summer and winter, went downstairs to wash in cold water, and then spent half-an-hour in a bare gaunt schoolroom for 'spiritual meditation'. This was followed by an hour's housework, with breakfast at 8 and another period of prayers. The cycle of *ora et labora* brought another hour's housework at 9, so that when the children gathered in their own internal school for lessons at 10 o'clock they had already spent four hours in more or less trying activities. School ended at 12.30 with dinner at 12.40 followed by washing-up. Afternoon school was from 2 to 4 or 4.30 and a free period until prayers at 5.30 and tea at 5.40. At 6 the girls had an hour's needlework, and the boys an hour's 'prep.' This left an hour more or less free until 'cocoa and bed' at 8."

Education

250. About half the children in the voluntary Homes we saw attended the local primary schools (some went to secondary or technical schools) and half attended elementary schools within the Home precincts. A small number attended nursery schools within the Homes. A far higher proportion of children were educated inside the Homes than in the local authority establishments. It should, however, be noted that approximately half the internal schools were in two large organisations, one of which is of high standard with a complete range of education, including a secondary school from which the children gaining scholarships can go on to Technical or University education. In a few instances the provision of an internal school was in full co-operation with the Local Education authorities, the school premises of the residential Homes concerned being rented by the authorities for the purposes of local education. In these cases the full costs of the school, including teachers' salaries and school supplies were borne by the Local Education authorities

concerned, and children from outside the Homes attended together with those who resided within them. Some of the self-contained schools were maintained in order to secure religious training in accordance with the faith of their providers. In such instances the major part of the cost fell upon the Homes themselves. One of the worst educational instances observed was in the Nonconformist Home described in paragraph 249, where the School was conducted on limited lines by untrained teachers, most of whom came from the school itself by a form of pupil teacher system. Outside training was discouraged as being subversive of their religious beliefs. In the Convents of one Order it is customary to employ unqualified teachers who may be entirely responsible for the education of the children.

Vocational Training

251. In a few instances vocational training was arranged through technical classes and evening schools. In the majority of the places visited this provision was lacking, whilst there were a few instances in which the years after leaving school were used too much for work of a routine nature. In certain Girls' Homes administered under a Religious Order, the girls of junior age became, on leaving school at 14, employed in the Homes as laundry hands, working full hours in old-fashioned and inconvenient buildings, converted to the purposes of trade laundries. In one such instance £85 a week was earned by work for outside customers. There was a certain vagueness about payment to the working girls. "Half-a-crown a week, five shillings if they are very good" was suggested, but not with confidence: sometimes it was "half-a-crown from time to time." Another similar but smaller Home was mainly supported by laundry earnings of £20 a week, the girls having no payment beyond a shilling a week pocket-money and from 5s. to 10s. a month banked on their account. The following was noted in one establishment as the routine of the normal day—6.15, rise; 7, Mass; 8, breakfast, 9 to 12.15, laundry or housework; 1.50-4, laundry or housework; 4, tea; 4.30, Benediction; 5 to 7, laundry or housework; 7.30, bed.

Leisure

252. Some Homes have good premises, large playrooms and good gardens but are without the right sort of library, constructional toys and the few possessions with which children can build a life of imagination of their own. In this the larger Homes, unless they are divided internally into family groups, are at a disadvantage. Possessions are more often in common, the dangers of destruction of books and toys are greater and the staff cannot take the same individual interest in the child and encourage his special interests and aptitudes as they can in the smaller Homes. Pets are not so easily kept and cared for amongst large numbers of children. In very many Homes, large and small, there was seldom provision for the older children to have a room apart from the younger ones or for suitable games or hobbies for the older group. Most of the nursery Homes had excellent toys for little children. One Home for little boys, not well supplied with toys, gave great happiness by the provision of a sandpit in the garden and even greater happiness by an accidental heap of sand in the drive. Sandpits were seen in several nursery gardens. While watching the children at their games we were often impressed by the family play in the small independent Homes and the happy sharing of facilities. The following comment is an example—"Swing boat—a few soft toys—splendid sandpit—tricycle—dog much appreciated—tin wheel barrow in great demand."

253. The arrangements for hobbies, reading or even games were generally poor. Members of staff seemed readily to appreciate the need for the small children's play, but perhaps because so often of limited educational opportunity, they themselves have little idea of the needs within the Home of older boys and girls. At very few Homes was there a good library or use of library facilities, or provision of a quiet room to which older boys and girls could retreat. The impossibility in the average Home of any but the most book-minded children managing to read in the midst of perpetual hubbub has, we think, meant that there has been little demand for books or papers. Time after time we commented on the lines of the following notes:—

“ Very deficient. Few books, no sign of hobbies. Only two Girl Guides from the Home.”

“ Nothing much for girls to do—mostly knitting. Only a back yard for recreation.”

“ Very poor equipment for leisure time except in the nursery. Only a yard for play.”

In one of the Homes visited more effort had been made to stimulate intellectual development; the older boys and girls had constituted and were working successfully a Parliament for the discussion and regulation of their own affairs, members of the staff or visitors being invited from time to time to introduce topics of general interest suitable for parliamentary debate.

254. In most of the Homes seen some effort was made to provide the children with a locker or drawer of their own in which they could keep such personal possessions as they had. In some cases these were shown to us with great pride and when opened revealed the usual miscellaneous collection of oddments which children keep. It was, however, brought home to us how difficult it is in a large Home to avoid such things becoming common property. There are very few Homes in which personal photographs, pictures or ornaments are allowed in bedrooms.

255. Pocket money was usually supplied regularly, but often on a very low scale. In some instances the children bought their own sweets out of their weekly money; in other cases the sweet ration was extra. Convent Homes have not yet as a rule made arrangements to give regular pocket money to their children. In these Homes and a few others the children largely depended on presents from their families and irregular gifts from the Homes at Christmas and other festivals.

Outside Contacts

256. The encouragement of friendships and acquaintanceships outside the Home is still found infrequently and in some Homes the children were not allowed or not encouraged to join outside organisations. We noted a Convent Home where the girls went out to the Girls Training Corps and two other small Homes (branches of a large organisation) one of which had been adopted by the local Women's Institute whose members invited children to their Homes: the other had organised an “Aunts and Uncles” Scheme. Scouts, Cubs, Guides and Brownies are too often run within the Home, but where the children are allowed to belong to troops outside there is great gain. The “Uncles and Aunts” schemes seemed excellent if arranged with care but are unsuccessful when only the attractive children are wanted, or where some children receive more treats than others. We thought that in most Homes the children could have taken a much greater share in the life of the neighbourhood than they did.

Contact with Relatives

257. Contact with relatives is encouraged and on the whole is well maintained considering the difficulties of transport, fares and distances. We estimated that about a third of the children received regular visits, about the same number have very occasional visits or none at all. The rest have visits from time to time, less often than once a month. Only in a few instances did we find that the Homes made any attempt to prepare the family for the child's return or, where no interest was volunteered, to try to find relations who might take interest in him. Contact with the child's home was often maintained by the central office of the organisation where the child was not personally known.

258. The writing, and much more the receiving, of letters means a great deal to children. As with contacts with relatives letter writing seemed to be a matter of course for a third of the children, whereas about a third had no one to write to and received no letters. Occasionally an attempt had been made to fill the gap by way of "pen friends" but it proved difficult for children to keep up an interest in someone they had never seen. The "Uncles and Aunts" scheme should go some way to meet this need so long as some children are not left out. Both incoming and outgoing letters were usually read but in a few instances those in charge held strongly that the children's outgoing correspondence to their relatives should be free.

259. The practice in regard to holidays varied considerably. In some Homes great efforts were made to give the children a change. If they had suitable friends or relatives to go to, a holiday with them was arranged. Other children were sent to Homes elsewhere. Often the Home took a holiday at the seaside or in camp. In some Homes, however, there seemed to be no arrangement for a yearly break.

Behaviour

260. As far as appearance and behaviour of the children in voluntary Homes were concerned we found the standard attained was with some exceptions a good one: We seldom noted untidy or dirty children or unpleasant behaviour. At meals the behaviour was good, but we found far too many Homes in which children were expected to eat their meals in silence. It seemed to us that there an opportunity for the teaching of good manners was lost. In one or two Homes the teaching of manners was of an old world variety which could only appear freakish in the modern world, such as bobbing a curtsey, saying "Yes, Ma'am, No Ma'am" to everyone and constantly getting up whenever visitors passed in and out. We thought that the Homes would be better employed in teaching the simple courtesies expected of well brought up young people of today.

Discipline

261. It is always difficult to assess methods of discipline used in Homes or any organisation where so much depends upon the individual capacity of members of staff and their relations with the children. On the whole such methods as we were able to see seemed negative and discouraging rather than positive in their value and there was much less often evidence of a code to which the children subscribed or even contributed than of rules thrust upon them from above. We found that, in a few Homes, those in authority considered that caning and deprivation of liberty and food were necessary to maintain order, though in our view such methods were used only at the greater cost of producing more problems than those with which they dealt. We saw (and indeed were likely to see) no evidence of unduly harsh or cruel discipline. Signs of repression were evident in some Homes. For

instance at a Home for little girls, we watched from a window the children come home from school chattering and full of life, only to become subdued and silent as they crossed the step of what should have been their home. At another home the little girls spoke and moved like little girls of a hundred years ago though they did not, for all that, appear to be unhappy. On the whole punishments were of the type of early bed, loss of outings, food, pocket money, " pictures " or sweets stopped. Punishments related to food and sweets were infrequent; it seemed to be generally recognised that in these days at least loss of food was scarcely legitimate. One Home which sometimes docked a pudding course, gave the child, without comment, a larger helping of the first course.

262. Corporal punishment with a cane was not often noted. In the two Homes where we were uneasy about its use we found that the superintendent of one had been fined at the local magistrates' Court for excessive punishment and that at the other caning was regularly used as punishment for bed wetting. In other Homes (always Homes for boys) in which we heard about caning this punishment was given from time to time for " anti-social behaviour ", wanton destructiveness, fighting and bullying.

263. In a few Homes only did we come upon traces of self-government and an appeal to the child's own social conscience. Those in authority relied on a system of punishments and rewards. The rewards took various forms. In one Home sweets and soap were given out (scented soap we found ranks as a special present and in some Homes tooth paste provided a good second, evidence perhaps of the deprivation of ordinary amenities of life), or medals, ribbons or ornaments such as brooches. Sometimes children who had been specially helpful were taken to the pictures or given some privilege in the house. The older boys and girls usually became increasingly responsible for the care of their younger companions but they were generally selected for such special duties and kept under close direction by the Superintendent. This perpetual dependence on others during the formative years of childhood may tend to produce young men and women lacking in initiative, responsibility and powers of leadership, a criticism which is often levelled at the old boys and girls of institutions. In the best Homes, however, much thought is devoted to the finding of special responsibilities which will develop the personality and self-respect of the individual child.

264. It was noticed in some Homes that visitors were a cause of undue excitement; the children crowded up, demanding attention and pressing forward with their toys, talking at the tops of their voices, in such a way as to suggest a serious lack of day-to-day affection of a motherly kind on the part of those in charge of them. This tendency seemed specially marked in the larger and more institutional Homes where it was difficult for the staff to deal with the children as individuals. Some of us saw with distress thirty toddlers at a Convent Home, who were being cared for by a woman of very low mentality, who had been a girl in the Home and was then 28 and incapable of working outside. These children rushed at us, pulled, petted, clung and felt our clothes and other possessions. They lived together as a group, with the woman in charge of them, without the stimulus of contact with the next age group of children or with older girls and with little contact with normal adults. We were not surprised to find in the same Home that the groups of older girls were tongue tied and inclined to giggle and even to become hysterical as a result of notice from visitors and that we were constantly told by the Sisters that their girls were abnormally dull and backward. In striking contrast to this Home was a small villa Home for 20 girls aged 5 to 14. When we visited some of them were getting ready to have tea in the garden (a pleasant large garden with plenty of grass).

Some were playing with a see-saw and the old dog, others had toys, balls, books and other games. They all appeared happy and occupied and took no notice of visitors in whom they were not in the least interested. The young matron in charge of them told us that the children were constantly asked out for the day or taken shopping or to the sea by families in the neighbourhood. At this Home, too, although it was perfectly clean, we saw the refreshing sight of toys scattered all over the playroom steps.

Difficult Children

265. Only in the more progressively managed Homes was there an awareness of the need for special treatment of difficult children. As a general rule such children were considered "naughty" and were dealt with in the same way as the rest. In the worst Homes such problems as enuresis were treated by punishment or accepted with a fatalistic attitude. In a number of Homes the enuretic children slept in separate rooms or in a separate part of a dormitory or were otherwise marked out. In one Barrack Home these boys had a red light by their bed. Treatment often appeared to consist of a "talking to" and the washing out of sheets by the child concerned. One such child returned to the dormitory to make his bed while we were there and seemed quite overcome with the shame of being seen. In the better Homes there was an attitude of encouragement rather than blame and a system of rewards for an increasing number of nights without trouble. When we inquired at one Home whether the rewards caused jealousy the matron replied that the opposite was the case as all the children were most anxious to help.

266. Absconding from voluntary Homes is apparently very rare even where the Homes are not of high standard. We did come across one small Home from which twelve children decamped after a change of matron. As in Local Authority Homes the less noticeable symptoms of difficulty usually remained unrecognised. Pilfering (especially of food), destructiveness, secretiveness, fantasies, were all mentioned as examples of naughtiness and punished severely. These tendencies which are usually the results of wrong methods of upbringing were largely missing from the better Homes but if and when they did occur they were treated sensibly. It was rare to find that use was made of Child Guidance Clinics or other specialist advice.

Religious Care

267. In all Homes in which enquiry was made there was some form of daily prayer with the children. In two Homes the younger children were taught prayers by the matron and in one case they said their prayers with her. But only in two Homes was there much sign that the children's prayers were related to their daily life. One of these was a Home for little boys where the matron tried to make the prayers live for the children. For example, at the time the Home was seen, the order had lately been given by the Food Ministry to save bread. The children as a result were praying, obviously with genuine understanding as far as was possible at their age, for the starving people of Europe and China and anxiously asked if they could not send some of their own bread to a Sister whom they had known and who was, they knew, working in China. In Convent Homes it is usual for the children to attend Mass each day and they are taught short personal prayers of a formal kind. In Homes such as these and in others built up on a foundation of religion the personal character of those in charge of the children must exercise a strong influence on their minds and lives. The practice of attending Church or Chapel on Sunday morning and Sunday School in the afternoon is the normal one for most children in Homes. The rest of the day is often barren of interest and occupation.

Convents

268. Both Anglican and Roman Catholic Orders have been pioneers in the care and upbringing of destitute or deserted children. Their services in this field have been given with devotion, and the time and funds of a number of religious communities have been spent in the work. It may however easily follow from the manner of life in religious communities that Convent Homes may be, to some extent, isolated from the general stream of life; and this may result in their being out of touch with more recent views on the education and training of young people, although in the more progressive Orders there is a genuine wish to keep abreast of the best modern views. The life of simplicity and austerity which the Sisters have willingly chosen for themselves is reflected in the training of the children for whom they are responsible. The manual labour, which is to them a welcome service to the Convent community is also considered of benefit to the young people in their charge, and is often expected even of young girls of working age, without payment, as they themselves would offer it. To some extent this explains methods of teaching and training which in other circumstances might be thought to show ignorance of the real needs of childhood. For example, the children who are brought up in Convent Homes are still largely housed in gaunt, barrack-like buildings with large bare playrooms and dormitories. Their contact with the world outside the home is often, like that of the Sisters, limited, and in the case of the older girls the upbringing in the Convent shows signs of a deprivation of some of the ordinary enjoyments and interests of young people of their age. There are of course exceptions to this, but we were impressed in many of the Convents by the long hours of arduous work, sometimes with little training value, which left relatively little time for recreation and social life. As in the case of many other of the Homes we have described we noted that in many of the Convents there was a depressing failure to provide for older children social activities, interests and hobbies suitable for their age, although much better provision was often made for younger children up to 7 years of age. We have already commented under the various headings on conditions which we found in the Convents we visited. We have added this special comment because we feel that to some extent the less progressive form of care may be explained by the relative importance attached by those responsible to the religious training of children.

After Care and Choice of Careers

269. It seemed from our inquiries that in almost a third of the Homes the preparation for and arranging of careers was on the whole good. The range of employment taken up by the boys and girls from the best Homes was varied, including for boys such occupations as bakery, boot and shoe making, building trades, factory work, farming, gardening, carpentry and joinery, chemical work, engineering, confectionery, printing, book-binding and commerce, the Services, Police, architecture, pharmacy, dentistry, journalism, teaching, scientific research, and for girls dressmaking, laundry and factory work, nursing in hospitals, and nurseries, hairdressing shop work, domestic work, dentists' receptionists, clerical work and shorthand typing, teaching. (This list is taken from notes of actual jobs being held by old boys and girls.) One girl was seen who wanted to go on the land and at a Camp School the Headmaster urged the boys to take an interest in country things, particularly farming and stable work. On the other hand in an otherwise well managed Home we met a small boy who wanted to be a chef but who had not been allowed to give any help in the cooking. In one Home for girls the matron pointed out that an old girl of the Home who was secretary at a technical college, was, after paying 25s. a week for lodgings, earning less

than another who had a post as parlourmaid and was given her keep. For this reason it appeared that girls were more willing to take up domestic work than they had been, especially as they could now count on good off duty time. At one excellent branch of one of the big national organisations boys who were studying for careers could continue to live in the Home while taking their courses outside. An arrangement of this kind is exceptional partly because most Homes are short of accommodation and partly because of the extra expense involved. It may also have an undesirable side as in a large isolated Home for boys where before the war the boys trained in various trades in the Home until they were 21. The needs of the Services now ensure that every boy leaves before he is 19 but it seemed to us that it would have been far better if the years between 17 and 21 could have been spent outside the Home learning a trade and mixing in a normal way with other young people of both sexes.

270. What we have said gives the bright side of the picture, for in the other Homes the arrangements both for providing work and for putting the young people in it were unsatisfactory in the extreme. The great majority of all the boys and girls are capable of meeting the requirements of the middle range of industry with help in gaining the necessary qualifications. It would seem to follow that the ordinary means of finding employment would be suitable. In spite of this in most Homes, good and bad, the bulk of the work in connection with employment appears to be done by the superintendent alone and even in many good homes far too little use is made of the Juvenile Employment Bureau. This meant that a large number of Homes for girls depended upon domestic and laundry work for the main occupations to which their girls went, and that an equal number of Homes for boys became one of the main local sources of unskilled labour: we calculated that in about a third of all Homes the output was entirely to domestic service and unskilled labour. On the whole the boys even in the poor Homes had more choice of occupation than the girls who even in Homes of otherwise good standard were often offered a very limited range of possibilities. The standard of employment was in fact much the same as we noted in Public Assistance Homes except in the case of one or two of the large organisations.

271. It has to be admitted that many Homes fail as badly in after-care as they do in arranging outside contacts for their children. In the normal home the child is sure of a constant interest in all he is doing: if difficulties occur "home" is behind him and ready to help him: if he does wrong and gets into trouble his parents are there to stand by him. Only exceptionally is this true for the institution child. We were told at one small Home for girls that if a girl got into trouble she was sent back to her real home, in that case almost certainly one from which she had been taken or sent away because it was undesirable. The placing, which was far too often arranged by local contact with the superintendent, was far too seldom followed up by any real interest in the young person pushed into the post, who was left to sink or swim as best he or she might. What may happen is best illustrated by the following comment—

"We were troubled about arrangements for children who got into difficulties when placed out in service. One such girl placed out with a clergyman had stolen and was returned home to her father—a widower. Matron was firm that she could not return to the Home, but neither apparently was there any other Home of the same organisation that could take her. Matron had written to the Headquarters of the Society asking that the Welfare Officer should get into touch with her. Another girl had been sent to a Laundry Home. There seemed to be a suggestion here that their Society could not deal adequately with their girls who 'go wrong'."

A few of the large organisations had, we found, their Welfare Officers, but because of the way in which their old boys and girls were scattered over the country, the bulk of their work appeared to be conducted by correspondence. Those organisations which had branches in different parts of the country sometimes carry out after care through the superintendents of the branches where the young people live near enough to a Home. In many cases they are too far away to afford the necessary fares and so fail to be supervised by letter only. In the smaller Homes there is no means of keeping in touch with boys and girls who had left the Homes, unless they were employed in the neighbourhood.

HOSTELS FOR WORKING BOYS AND GIRLS AND PROBATION HOSTELS

272. Hostels for working lads and girls may be set up by Local Authorities for boys and girls from Public Assistance homes who need help when they first begin work, or by voluntary organisations for boys and girls from their own Homes, or for young people in the large cities who are starting work and need cheap and respectable lodgings and some companionship. A few voluntary organisations and local committees of interested persons have set up, as a piece of social work, special hostels in which young offenders aged 14 to 17 can live for a time as a condition of a Probation Order under closer supervision than would be possible in their own homes.

273. We visited two hostels run by local authorities and five managed by voluntary organisations or committees. We found that they varied very much in standard. This variation was, as far as we could judge, attributable rather to the type of Warden in charge than to any financial considerations. Some of the voluntary hostels which had been set up and maintained by the generosity of local people had a struggle to keep going, yet their standards were as good as those of local authority hostels which were wholly maintained from public funds. We saw in one county area an excellent small probation hostel and in the same area a poor local authority hostel with an unsuitable Warden in charge. In a large city an opposite state of things was found; there was an excellent local authority hostel, a home-like and cheerful place, while the probation hostel was cramped and depressing.

Finance

274. Although the boys and girls pay in to the hostel funds a proportion of their wages they are not always able to meet the whole cost of their maintenance and provide clothes and pocket money. All working hostels must therefore have a reserve of other funds to allow for residents earning small wages or taking apprenticeships or falling sick or out of work. This expenditure, which is not easy to calculate, falls very heavily on voluntary bodies and in the probation hostels a maintenance allowance on a sliding scale towards the keep of the young person is contributed from public funds. During most of the period covered by our visits the hostels received, from the probationer and the local authority together, a maximum payment of 30s. a week, the contribution from public funds being limited to not more than 20s. of that amount. Since 1st June, 1946, the maximum payment has been increased to 40s. a week, and the maximum contribution from public funds to 30s.

Care of Young People

275. Most of the hostels which we visited were situated in or near large towns where employment of different kinds was readily available. The nearness of their work makes a great deal of difference to the health and wellbeing of young people whose travelling time comes out of time which would otherwise be given to rest and recreation, and whose money is quickly absorbed in fares. The young people in most of the hostels we saw seemed reasonably happy,

and in a few hostels, very happy. The food we saw was good and plentiful though sometimes roughly served. When a boy or girl could not return to a meal, sandwiches were given or money for a meal. In all hostels some assistance is given with clothes. Young people sent to probation hostels frequently arrive only with the clothes they are wearing which are often torn, dirty and unattractive. In these cases assistance from public funds up to £12 may be paid for each probationer. Many of the voluntary organisations and local authority hostels hold stocks of clothes from which these young people can be supplied with necessities. All need working suits, dresses and overalls and it is usual to have one or more better suits and dresses for recreation and for Sunday wear. At most hostels clothes are an important feature as it is at this age that the young people are beginning to take a pride in themselves and their appearance.

276. An honorary medical adviser who attended as required was attached to all the voluntary hostels we saw. We were told that many of these doctors take an active interest in the well-being of the young people.

Buildings and Furnishing

277. In the main the hostels were rather cramped for space when the need for hobbies and games is considered. Some hostels had tried to meet this need by building on huts or sheds in the grounds but this again restricted the space which could be given to pets or to free play. Difficulty had been experienced in some boys' hostels in providing sufficient sanitary blocks and these had in a few cases also been placed outside, causing a further restriction of the grounds. The hostels we saw were not as a rule either liberally or comfortably furnished and an opportunity seemed to be missed of teaching these young people the care of a house and of pleasant furniture and china and an appreciation of equipment. For example, we noted at one local authority hostel—"One pale incandescent light burned in the long dormitory, the windows were draped in flapping blackout which was frowsy and torn. The whole place was stuffy and unpleasant." Better conditions were seen at two probation hostels for girls. One for twelve girls provided a small room for each girl with attractive curtains and bedspreads, a dressing table and cupboard. The other provided for each pair of girls a dressing table and mirror. As we have so frequently remarked of other homes there was little or no provision for a quiet room in these hostels or for a really comfortable sitting room with easy chairs and cushions. The rooms were nearly always bare and comfortless with hard chairs and even, in one instance, forms. In only one hostel did we see personal knicknacks and photographs in the bedrooms. The exception was the small probation hostel mentioned in paragraph 273.

Leisure

278. The problem of leisure is always a difficult one in hostels where many different interests must be catered for. In all hostels boys and girls were free to join outside organisations and activities, to go to the pictures or to classes. In the case of probation hostels it is, however, necessary to ensure that the young people are really spending their time in sensible occupations and sometimes there is the difficulty that they are greeted with suspicion even by the youth organisations which they join. The boys from one probation hostel joined the local A.T.C. but gave up because of accusations which were made against them without supporting evidence of articles being stolen. In some hostels boys join Toc H and girls and boys join local clubs and fellowships. Some young people take evening classes in trade subjects. Most hostels have provision for a recreation room or hut of some kind and for indoor games such as ping-pong and billiards, a wireless and gramophone for dancing.

But as we have already mentioned there is little space for quiet occupations, for reading, the writing of letters and little opportunity for a young person on probation to think things over and take stock of his position.

Discipline

279. It must be remembered in considering methods of discipline that these boys and girls are contributing towards their keep and are entitled to be considered as responsible for themselves. On the whole the discipline in the hostels is light and of such a kind as to emphasise this feeling of responsibility. Fining, restriction on outings in free time and deprivation of privileges are usual methods although in some hostels a management committee of the young people themselves enforces a code of behaviour in the house and consideration for others. The probation officer continues to keep in touch with probationers during the period in the hostel and he stands behind the Warden and can be called in to advise or help in an emergency. Many of these boys and girls have special difficulties and need a great deal of help when they are first placed at the hostel. Many Wardens encourage better standards of conduct by talks on subjects of special difficulty both to individuals and groups.

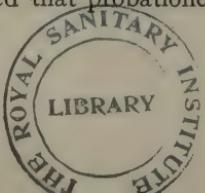
Employment and After Care

280. We gathered from discussions with the Wardens of hostels for working boys that the finding of employment rested mainly with the Warden to whom local firms applied when they wanted employees. One Warden told us that most of his boys went into local shops—there was “a great call for butchers’ assistants.” It appeared that the Warden did not always consult the local Juvenile Employment Bureau even where both hostel and bureau were run by the Education Authority. We had some doubt whether these young people were given the same choice of work as others living in their own homes: the arrangements seemed haphazard, depending more on the Warden’s contacts with employers than on competent inquiries. It was no doubt inevitable that there should be at any rate for a time a rapid changing of jobs. This did not appear to worry the Wardens as it was realised that many of the young people in probation hostels had been unable to stick at work or keep a job before their admission to the hostel.

281. The period of supervision under a probation officer normally continues after the period of residence is over and the boy or girl has returned home. Residence is usually for six to twelve months only (twelve months with three months remission for good behaviour was suggested by one or two Wardens) and is intended as a preparation for ordinary life at home. During the probationer’s absence he is encouraged to keep in touch with his family by letters and visits while the local probation officer does what he can to improve conditions and prepare the family for his return. In other hostels (as in Public Assistance or voluntary homes) the young people may have lost sight of their families and will need, when they leave for lodgings or residential employment, a friendly hand for a considerable time. Some hostels encourage their ex-residents to come back for visits from time to time.

Segregation

282. Strong views were expressed to us on several occasions about the undesirability of segregating probationers in separate hostels. Several Wardens suggested that they should go to other hostels for working boys and girls so that only a few would be resident in any one place. At one hostel the words “Thieves Hostel” had been chalked on the gate and this, though an isolated incident, suggested that probationers might be at a disadvantage



in probation hostels. While probation hostels are free to admit any young people in the same age group, the payment of grant and the laying down of certain conditions tends to keep out other cases. Against this must be set the difficulty of maintaining a standard of care, when payment is made only for isolated cases, and of providing specialist care for young people who may be both difficult and delinquent and considered unsuitable for placing in other hostels.

APPROVED SCHOOLS

283. We visited 52 approved schools in England and Wales of which 10 were provided by local authorities and 42 by voluntary organisations. We do not think it necessary to describe these two groups separately, as all alike were inaugurated and are managed in close consultation with the Home Office. Some of the schools we regarded as doing very good all round work for the children. This does not imply that there was nothing to criticise about them, but that we were satisfied that in these schools the staff had succeeded in creating an environment in which children could thrive, and that they were skilled and understanding in their work and able to co-operate in future developments of a progressive kind. In a minority of schools we thought radical changes were necessary if the welfare of the children was to be adequately secured.

Management

284. Each school has a local Committee of Management except in a few cases of local authority schools managed by a Sub-Committee of the Education Committee. The Committees of Management usually meet at the School at monthly intervals. We were informed at two schools that the members took a lively interest in the school and in the welfare of individual boys and girls. The staff of several voluntary schools were appreciative of the help given by the Committee in arousing local interest in the work of the school. The counsel of the Chairman in discussion of detailed needs was in some cases particularly appreciated, and we gained the impression that the Committee added to the confidence of the staff and to the status of the school in the community.

Admission

285. The method of admission in almost all schools is now through the Home Office direct, or through a classifying school. It was not possible from our visits to two classifying schools, a girls' school and a boys' school, to gauge the system adequately, but from the little we saw, and on general grounds, we felt that it should be thoroughly examined by experts before it is widely extended. At the girls' school we saw intelligence tests being given by someone who clearly did not understand their full implications. At the boys' school it was said to take as long as two months to observe and test each boy and to reach a reliable conclusion about him, although it would, in our view, have been possible to assess many of the boys in a few days. Both these visits were made by groups including members specially qualified to judge. It seemed to us that, when a boy or girl had been for some time in an approved school, the transfer became a break rather than a beginning of a training, and valuable time appeared to be lost to no good purpose. This view was reflected in the uneasiness of the schools at the receiving end, where the opinion was held that residence in the classifying school merely unsettled the boy or girl who must be discouraged from forming loyalties to a place of temporary stay, and that the proper place for classification was in the remand home. In some schools considerable trouble

had been caused by boys and girls too unstable or of too poor mentality to be dealt with by the particular schools to which they had been sent. One Headmaster complained that his school "appeared to be classified as a school for enuretics". Our note on the boys' classifying school was as follows:

"We did not see the system of classification at work because the boys were in camp. As we understood it, it appeared that every boy was retained for observation for an arbitrary period of two months. The Headmaster took the view that this length of time was required in every case. At the end of that time the boy was graded and sent to one of the Northern Schools which is fed from the classifying school."

Our evidence indicated that the intention of the scheme was to fit the boy to the right type of training, but that it has the effect in practice of changing the character of the schools, from mixed schools taking all boys within their age group, to schools specialising in a certain type of boy, e.g., the tough boy, the weak boy, the bright boy, the backward boy.

Organisation

286. Some variations of the "House" system seem to have been generally adopted in the schools though in few cases do the buildings lend themselves readily to this kind of organisation. "Houses" might be based upon dormitories or be made up simply of aggregations of children, but were seldom composed of anything resembling a household in which small groups had meals and day rooms in common. The boys' classifying school had small groups of boys in huts each looked after by a married member of the staff and his wife, but the huts were used for sleeping only and the boys worked and ate and played together. One exception was a girls' school where the girls were grouped in "families" of twelve each with its own "house mother". In most of the schools "houses" seemed to be regarded more as a useful basis for developing loyalties and friendly competition and for providing posts of leadership, than as an opportunity for the individual treatment of children. We came across no instance of genuine self-government. Prefects of houses were invariably appointed by the Head.

Buildings

287. Most of the schools are handicapped to some extent by their buildings which have seldom been constructed for their present day purpose. They are often old industrial schools or reformatories, Local Authority Institutions, wartime groups of Government huts, adapted private houses, or country mansions of varying suitability. Many schools seemed to suffer from the fact that they were built without any purposeful design in line with modern ideas of upbringing and education. Some of the country houses, however, had the advantage of avoiding any suggestion of an institutional design foreign to the local community. The situation of the schools is of some interest since it affects in important ways the relation of the school to the local community. The fact that it has been necessary to rely for new schools upon buildings already available has meant that in some cases the site is an inconvenient one from the standpoint of the staff and the availability of local resources for teaching and recreation. In a few cases we thought the schools too isolated to be helpful either to staff or children, though it must be remembered that we saw them at a time when communication was of necessity infrequent. One of these was a large boys' school run by a religious community where we feared that the advantages of contact with the outside world were scarcely appreciated by the Brothers.

288. The most frequent defects were unsuitable or cramped indoor accommodation for leisure-time activities and large barrack-like dormitories. There seemed to have been more insistence on the physical well-being of the children than on individual development. In very few schools was there a quiet room for rest or reading. In one junior girls' school all the girls were obliged to play, read or write letters in one moderate sized room which possessed no easy chairs or comfortable furniture. Some of the dormitories in boys' schools seemed to us to contain too many beds, though from the health standards the dormitories were sufficiently large and well ventilated. The kitchens, dining rooms and sanitary arrangements which had often been adapted and modernised were nearly always satisfactory. There was nearly always a sick room for emergencies.

289. The following extracts from members' reports give illustrations of the various types of buildings.

Buildings of the old Reformatory, Industrial School or Poor Law type

Senior Boys School. Accommodation 140. Present 133.

"This building was taken over from the Public Assistance authorities in 1936. It is situated on the fringe of an industrial area, but is in a fine position, overlooking a wide stretch of open country. There are extensive grounds for playing fields and a walled fruit and vegetable garden. The building, however, is a forbidding one, in large barrack-like blocks with a high surrounding wall and an institution type of entry archway. Workshops have been added to the original building. The living quarters are in one large block divided into two identical halves. There did not appear to be any living room other than the dining room, which is also used for recreation, and has a gallery and a cinema screen. There are tables for ten and bright cloths. Each of the two dormitories houses seventy boys in four long rows of beds. They are light and airy, but completely lacking in comfort or attractiveness. There is a sick room, but apparently no other room for rest or quiet. The long concrete-floored and tiled-wall corridors are dull and cold looking. Some effort has been made to brighten the rooms by paint and distemper. The place looked clean and polished."

Converted Private Houses

In many cases private houses, in spite of some inevitable disadvantages had been successfully converted and provided ample space in attractive buildings. Some were however inconvenient and seemed to have been an unfortunate choice. It should be remembered that the main pressure to open new schools occurred in war time with the obvious consequences of delayed alterations and redecoration. The following are examples of both kinds:

Junior School for Boys. Accommodation for 136. Present 120.

"This large, ornate Victorian building is situated in a park-like estate in remote country approached by narrow lanes. It is high up, and the much neglected garden is terraced, and stretches down to a lake. It was formerly used as a private mental hospital but there are no suggestions of restraint in the design of the building. The accommodation is adequate as regards space, but it did not appear to us present to be suitable for

its purpose. The dormitories vary in size from eight or ten beds to twenty-seven. There are adequate day rooms for ordinary purposes, but at present the only space for active indoor games is the dark entrance hall with shabby ornate decoration. The large room used for meals is rather crowded with small tables. There is a general lack of anything like homely comfort."

Senior School for Boys. Accommodation for 75. Present about 72.

"A large attractive country house, once a preparatory school, set in beautiful grounds with plenty of playing field space attached. To provide sufficient accommodation for the boys the house has been considerably extended and huts have been built or obtained for woodwork and metal work. There is also an attractive chapel. The bedrooms serve as dormitories. The whole place gave an appearance of homeliness in spite of the large number of boys catered for in it and made a very pleasant impression. There is a heated swimming bath."

Intermediate School for Boys. Accommodation 120. Present 120.

"A Jacobean country house set in 36 acres of garden and playing fields. Some of the staff live in cottages on the estate. Living and recreation rooms are excellent but a quiet room is badly needed and is to be provided. There is a beautiful dining hall with tables for six. The whole place was cheerful and attractive, the institutional atmosphere being tempered by architectural beauty and modernisation."

Staff

290. It is only possible to give a general picture of the staff in approved schools because we were only able to see a few members of staff in each school and had no opportunity to get to know them. We were, however, struck by the fact that the difficulty of shortage of staff appeared to be nothing like so serious in these schools as in local authority or voluntary Homes, possibly because they were largely staffed by qualified teachers. The quality and attitude of the staff must depend in these rather self-contained communities very largely upon the personality of the Head. On the whole we were very favourably impressed by the Headmasters and the Head-mistresses of the Schools. In most cases they seemed admirably suited to their work and in only a few cases did they fall short of the standard which we would think desirable.

291. We much regretted the failure to appoint more women as matrons and assistant matrons on the staff of some of the boys' schools. In one senior boys' school the buildings looked dirty and the boys grubby and unkempt in the absence of the matron for a long period of sick leave. No substitute had been provided nor was there any other responsible woman member of the staff.

Physical Care

292. We thought the diet at most of the schools was very good. The guidance given by the Home Office on the subject has undoubtedly helped in maintaining a high standard. In only three schools did we feel any doubt whether the food was sufficiently "filling" for growing boys. Many schools grow their own vegetables and fruit and the children are allowed the provisions thus obtained as part of their diet. We were satisfied that full rations and milk were taken up. In one school we noticed that water was not served either during or before or after the meal. The food was for

the most part attractively served at small or medium sized tables with attractive cloths and often flowers. In a few cases benches were provided instead of chairs. We did not see any instances of enamel plates and mugs such as we found in some children's Homes. The children themselves usually had some responsibility for helping with service and clearing. In one senior boys' school where there are two dining rooms, one of which is presided over by one of the boys, we were told that the standard of manners and discipline was better than at the other in which a master presided.

Medical Care

293. The provision for medical care seemed excellent in almost every case. The children are medically examined when they come in and before they leave as a matter of routine. In all the schools we visited there was a regular surgery or arrangements for dealing with minor ailments or accidents, and either a trained nurse or a member of staff with some training or experience of nursing. We found some evidence that the dental care was not as regular as seemed necessary. At one senior boys' school the boys' teeth were noticeably uncared for and we were told that the dentist was able to come only occasionally. At a girls' school we were told of the delay in getting dental appointments. We saw several girls whose teeth needed attention. The delay seemed in these cases to be more prolonged than that falling to the ordinary population even in wartime.

Clothing

294. We made a special note of clothing, which was usually satisfactory in standard and sometimes in the girls' schools very good. It is of course easier to bring variety and individuality into girls' clothing. The fact that many of the boys were doing rough work meant that their clothes had to be of a hard wearing kind which naturally looked more shabby. Although it had been possible to avoid uniform which was in any way conspicuous, standard clothing was in fact used in most schools even for work. We found individual clothing throughout (even in underwear) at one girls' school.

Occupation and Education

295. The approved schools differ from the other establishments we have been describing in that the whole regime is intended to be remedial. It sets out to provide for the child who has in some way come to grief, a training which will enable him to take a normal place in society with other children of his age. It is natural therefore to find the daily programme closely planned with occupations designed to help the child to develop and fit into community life. It is an established fact that as compared with the country as a whole the approved school population contains an abnormally high proportion of boys and girls who are either of subnormal intelligence or seriously backward in school work for other reasons; the schools we visited were probably representative in this respect. We found these facts reflected in the school arrangements, which in general provided an education based so far as possible on a practical approach, and a programme of active and interesting employment outside school hours. As a rule education was within the school, though in a few instances, such as a junior girls' village school, the children went out to school. Where education was inside, the junior schools provided full-time teaching for a considerable proportion of their numbers, and the senior schools gave intensive schoolroom education for part of the time on the lines of a continuation school. In general we thought the standard of educational method did not fall below the standard outside and in one or two respects, such as the size of classes, the advantage was with the approved

schools. In all cases we saw the teachers had the recognised qualifications. In many of the senior schools the aim had been to combine vocational with general education and effort had been made to teach the boys history, geography, mathematics, etc., through their crafts. At a senior boys' school the following note was made:

" We were impressed by the variety of good trades available and by the way in which they are related to the boys' general education and put to use in and about the farm buildings. It was interesting to see the way in which the paint shop boys had decorated with mural designs the quarters of the women staff and their own dormitories."

296. Vocational training is a special feature in most of these schools and as far as we could judge the training in most instances reached a high standard. It seemed to us that the gardener, farmer or cabinet maker who was primarily a skilled man at his job was of special value to the children as an instructor, and those we saw seemed to be very successful in holding their interest. The following report illustrates the kind of vocational training given in the boys' schools.

Senior Boys' School. Present 140 Boys.

" The carpentry and cabinet making seemed to be of excellent standard. Furniture is made for other approved schools, but also smaller articles, such as wooden bowls. There is no undue shortage of materials. The metal shop appeared up-to-date, with electric machinery. There is a special instructor for interior decoration. Building and gardening is undertaken under skilled workmen."

Short Term Senior Boys' School. Present 90.

" The boys are divided up into four sections according to mental ability after the Vocational Guidance officer's test. Each class consists of about twenty-five. Many boys are backward in ordinary school subjects, and there is concentration on these on the morning of the school day, which is once a week. In the afternoons the project method has been followed, centring on the farm work in which many of the boys are being trained. We were shown project books which the boys were said to have worked out in groups. These contained studies, such as graphs of milk output for cows during the season, extracts from farming journals about various breeds of cows, their proper feeding, etc. The school room was posted with photographs of prize stock. The Schoolmaster was evidently aware of the value for the boys of working on a subject in which they could use their practical experience and their initiative. These boys also have gramophone concerts, including some classical music. At the time of our visit there were particulars of the life of Beethoven written up on the blackboard."

Many other examples could be given but they would nearly all be taken from the boys' schools. From the samples of schools which we visited, it seemed that a much wider variety of vocational training is available to boys than to girls. Apart from a few schools with specialised training in dressmaking and tailoring and some with training in gardening the girls' training which we saw was largely of a domestic character. In one girls' school two specially trained domestic science teachers were employed and girls suitable for this type of training were selected for this school. In another, girls were placed in a Hostel attached to the school as soon as they could

be trusted and were sent out to factory work or higher education, a method of treatment which seemed to us excellent. But in most the vocational training seemed incidental to the work of the household rather than given with a plan for the future though we had no reason to suppose that it was not effective. In one school great resentment was expressed by the Head-mistress on behalf of the girls, who had expected a vocational training which they did not receive. The occupations given to the children had value, as for example in a Junior Boys' School:

Junior Boys' School. Accommodation 80.

"The boys help with waiting and washing up. Small boys in white aprons were seen spreading bread and butter, helping in the kitchen and taking in staff meals. They appeared to be thoroughly enjoying themselves."

Both boys and girls helped with housework in all the schools we saw though not probably to any greater extent than the girls would have been expected to help at home. All the boys and girls seemed to be required to make their beds or fold their bedclothes on rising, an arrangement which allowed little or no time for the airing of bedclothes. The hours of sleep were certainly adequate. Senior boys rise from 6 to 6.45, juniors from 6.45 or 7. Bedtime is usually 8 to 8.30 p.m.

Upbringing

297. The provision for group activities in leisure time was nearly always good and very often excellent. The provision for the development of individual interests was much less satisfactory. It was unusual to find that the staff were interested in the particular bent of individual boys and girls. It is possible that this is due to a deliberate policy of social education based upon the opinion that delinquent or maladjusted boys and girls are particularly in need of the development of group loyalties. It may also be due to the fact that many of the children are dull in intelligence and perhaps lacking in initiative and independence. Many of the schools had good libraries of their own and most could have made use of the neighbouring public library. In very few cases however was this done.

298. The situation of some of the schools does not make for easy communication with neighbours and it could hardly be said of any schools we saw that the school life was closely bound up with that of the local community. Nevertheless the boys and girls in most of the schools do not lead isolated lives in self contained communities. Considerable freedom to come and go is found in many of the schools and this, in view of the behaviour of many boy and girls before admission, shows considerable enterprise and courage on the part of those responsible. There is a healthy absence of high walls except in a few old buildings, and locked doors are very rare.

299. We gained the impression that few of the children are kept in regular touch with their families by visits from relations. This is partly due to the system of classification by which children are sent to the schools at which they can get suitable education and training rather than to the schools in their own areas. We found, however, rather different attitudes on the part of the staff towards the visits of relatives so that it would appear that if a special point were made of getting into touch with relatives and welcoming them to the school the difficulties of distance might be overcome. This view was strengthened by the fact that in one school in a rather remote country district visits from relatives seemed to be more frequent than in other more easily accessible schools.

300. Holiday plans have of necessity been curtailed during the war but have now been resumed. Weekend leave was fairly general after a boy or girl had settled in the school and many went home for the holidays. This arrangement involved home inquiries in each case. In one school it was found that if a boy had no home he could go home with a friend if he could save the money or the friend's parents could afford to send it. In one of the schools permission to spend the holiday at home depends upon an elaborate mark system for good conduct. A pre-war custom in many of the boys' schools had been to arrange a summer camp. A negative attitude to holidays was apparent in one girls' school where, when asked about sending the girls home, the Headmistress replied, "Impossible." The general practice is for the Head to see all incoming and outgoing letters.

301. There is a regular scale of pocket money approved by the Home Office but from what we were told the amount seemed to vary considerably from 1d. the lowest amount quoted for the youngest children, to 1s. 6d. A usual range was 3d. to 1s. To this there often appeared to be added spending money for expeditions, and relatives also sent money from time to time which the children were allowed to keep. Two girls' schools gave extra money for good behaviour and a senior boys' school for extra work done. Two boys' schools reported keen savings groups. We found no school in which any special point was made of giving the children the opportunity of learning about the cost of necessities. None of them appeared to take a share in the purchase of their own clothes or of food.

302. The standard of personal appearance seemed on the whole sensible and good. For the most part the boys and girls looked reasonably neat and clean. In some cases we thought that there was too much concentration upon spit and polish and in one instance we felt that the precise symmetry in the arrangement of bed clothes and possessions in the dormitories indicated a somewhat military attitude. The standard in the girls' schools was particularly good. The girls usually looked attractive and though there were strict rules against make-up such as are characteristic of any girls' boarding school there seemed to be no injunction against individual hair styles. There was very little provision for keeping personal possessions. It is true that in many of the schools individual lockers are provided, but the large dormitories and the bare playrooms seemed not to provide opportunities for collections of oddments, pictures and photographs such as children love to hoard. There seemed to be an unwritten law that there must be no unnecessary objects in bedrooms or dormitories and the exceptions to this were very few, and usually in girls' or junior schools.

Discipline

303. We did not find the discipline of approved schools much more severe than that of children's Homes, notwithstanding the fact that a large proportion of the children were there on account of delinquency. One example of excessive direction may be quoted:

School for Junior Boys. Accommodation 128. Present 120.

"The mealtime behaviour of these boys was one of the most depressing sights we have seen in any school. The boys were lined up and marched in and out. Signals were given by the member of the staff in charge to 'sit down', 'pour tea', 'stop pouring tea', 'begin to eat'. There was the same sort of excessive regimentation in force as the boys were preparing for physical training. The boys looked strained and unhappy."

We should assess the punishment given in most of the schools as harmless but of doubtful educational value. In a very few the punishment seemed well chosen and wise and in a very few harsh and excessive. The most

generally accepted method of discipline is based upon a system of marks for good or bad conduct as a result of which privileges are granted or withdrawn. On one school our visitors noted—

"A curious financial system of rewards and punishments was in operation, by which sinners were fined, so constituting a fund from which rewards were paid to saints."

A reasonable system is described in the following report—

School for Senior Girls. Present 42.

"Social education is based upon a merit system signified by coloured badges. If a newcomer does well she becomes an 'Intermediate' in three months and a 'Senior' in nine months, with special privileges, such as going out without members of staff to shop or to the cinema."

The system of marks seemed reduced to an absurdity when items of conduct of very different value gained the same credit or discredit. In one school for example we found that "very highly polished boots" was listed amongst the virtues.

304. It seemed to us that the use of corporal punishment was in some cases excessive. In one school the punishment book showed twelve entries a quarter: in another 34 in twelve months. The largest number of strokes we heard of was eight. Corporal punishment is seldom given to girls though permitted by the Rules. It seemed that, in some instances the staff had been defeated by the difficult behaviour of some adolescent girls and this led to some curious systems of punishment besides the more normal and usual ones of deprivations of privileges and early bed. For instance—

"At one time the girls were said to have been locked in their rooms for twenty-four hours and to have had restricted diet. This has been discontinued. Now the practice is to cut short the hair of the girl who absconds. If she absconds a second time, she is given an Eton crop, and if for the third time her head is shaved and she is dressed in a shapeless twill smock. I had a talk with a girl who had absconded three times and had been treated in this way. She was evidently disturbed about it, but did not seem bitter, and offered no complaints about undue punishment. Indeed she compared her treatment at this school with the much more strict handling she said she had had in a Remand Home, where she said that she had been locked in her room, had slept in a wooden bed without a mattress and been fed on bread and water after absconding from a hospital at which she had been receiving treatment. This girl certainly looked a very sorry sight, with front teeth missing (from recent extractions) a sack-like garment, and closely cropped hair."

It is interesting to note that the Home Office Inspector had expressed disapproval of this form of punishment when she visited shortly after we had been at the school. Other penalties were loss of pocket money or privileges (junior girls) dancing stopped (senior girls) smoking and outings stopped (senior boys).

305. The methods of dealing with problems of behaviour of a really troublesome kind varied a good deal. One major problem in many schools was absconding and this seemed to be true of schools of varying standard. The quality of the staff may have an effect or the presence of a particularly difficult child, but the main explanation is no doubt that the children are there under an order of the Court and against their will.

306. We had evidence from some schools that disturbances had sometimes been due to the admission of boys and girls of a seriously unstable type. For example in a junior girls' school of high standard with a population of

fifty girls six had been admitted to the local mental hospital in the past three months and six had been certified as defective. The delay in removing the defective girls had been due to shortage of accommodation in Institutions for Mental Defectives. In another Girls School (42 Juniors) eight girls had been certified as mentally defective in three years and two had been certified as suffering from mental disorder. Another problem often mentioned to us was that of enuresis and the information which we obtained may only give a partial picture. We did however form the opinion that some of the schools were not sufficiently alive to the need for medical and psychological advice about problems of this kind. The extent of the problem in one Junior Boys School where accurate records had been kept, seemed very excessive even in comparison with children in other types of institutions where the incidence is known to be high.

Religious Care

307. With a few exceptions the schools arranged for daily morning prayers as a community: many had their own chapels on the premises and we were told that great pride was taken in them and that they were shown off to parents and visitors. The schools have their own visiting chaplains. There is evidence of close co-operation with local Churches. We thought it might have been possible to use Sunday to greater advantage for the purpose of providing stimulus and enjoyment.

General Impression of the Children

308. In the majority of the schools we were well impressed by the appearance and behaviour of the children and by such relations between staff and children as we could observe. We have noted a few cases in which the attitude of the children and the staff caused us concern but we wish to emphasise that these cases were rare in our experience and did not detract from our opinion that the policy of the Home Office as carried out in the schools is enlightened and progressive. Our notes give ample evidence of schools in which boys and girls seemed to be thriving mentally and physically. The following are examples of what we saw.

Senior Boys' School.

"There was no awkwardness in the presence of staff or visitors. There was less noise, talking and laughing (for example at tea), than one would expect in an ordinary boarding school for boys of this age, but there certainly did not seem to be undue stiffness or restraint."

Senior Girls' School.

"There was evidently no 'silent rule' at work. The girls were chatting and singing cheerfully as they went about their jobs, and did not seem unduly concentrated or bored. They seemed to think it natural to come and chat with visitors at the front door, and were left without supervision whilst we were talking with the member of staff on duty."

Junior Girls' School.

"They all looked happy and well occupied. They seemed physically fit and well-developed, and they also looked more lively and alert than might be expected of children of dull intelligence."

Junior Boys' School.

"They looked physically well and alert. The majority appeared reasonably self-possessed. There was no standing on the entry of visitors, and no undue attention paid to them. They talked naturally when spoken to and seemed to respond to a joke or mild teasing from the Headmaster."

Employment and After Care

309. During the war a scheme has been set up which is, we understand, at present under review, for the appointment of welfare (after-care) officers to some schools, who make themselves responsible for the after-care of boys from a group of schools. The most usual plan in the boys' schools seemed to be to share the choice of employment and after-care between the school staff or the welfare officer and one of the local agents, the local authority, or the probation officer. The basis upon which the responsibility is divided appears to be whether the boys turn out to be suitable for employment in the area in an occupation for which the school is undertaking training—notably farming. In such cases there seems an obvious advantage in the personal contact which the school is able to maintain with local people, and in some areas there was evidently a long-standing tradition of employing boys from the school. It seemed to us from what we were told, that the boys entered a fairly wide range of employment, and that in some of the schools considerable trouble was taken to fit the boy to the career for which he was suited, though we did not get enough information to show how far his technical education led to appropriate skilled employment. In one senior boys' school the local authority vocational guidance officer carried out tests on a basis of which boys from this area are assigned to the training for which they appear to be fitted. Two months before the boy's release, reports on his progress are sent to the after-care department of the local authority and employment is sought for him. Their supervision is then carried out by the approved schools after-care sub-committee of the local authority. This plan sounds a satisfactory one, but a disappointing feature was that the information so carefully obtained was not used. Social workers were very critical indeed of the way in which it worked out in practice. They said that the actual visits were carried out by volunteers and that they acted not upon the reports which came back from the approved school but upon an index card which contained no information except the name and address of the boy and the approved school from which he had been discharged.

310. One school showed a list of employments which included farming, hotel domestic service, carpentry, mechanics, garage hands, gardeners. School magazines, giving news of old boys, show a variety of careers, including of course a large number of boys in the Forces. A list taken from one such magazine refers to boys' employment in drapery, farming, brewery, fish-curing, engineering, garage work, sheet metal work, building, sawyers mate, collier, shoe factory, ship-building, poultry farming, baking, dairy work, cobbling and welding.

311. Owing to the fact that welfare officers had not been appointed for the girls' schools, the responsibility for after-care rests necessarily with the staff and with local probation officers. In the case of voluntary schools further assistance may be given by the headquarters staff of the organisation. Considerable trouble was evidently taken by the staff of some of the schools. We gained the impression that this work added a serious burden to those who already had their hands full with the responsibility of caring for the girls at the school.

312. In some schools continued contact with boys who have left is a matter of special interest and pride. In one of the schools we were told that there are almost always some old boys back at week-ends, and that they often bring their wives or fiancées.

REMAND HOMES

313. We visited 55 remand homes in England and Wales. As we have already pointed out in connection with other homes, the amount of information which can be obtained from a single visit is limited: a single visit to a

remand home is peculiarly unsatisfactory because of the rapidly changing nature of the population and the impossibility of assessing on any one day the general standard of the home. We were, however, able to see some samples of problems which are known to be of common occurrence in remand homes and to discuss with the staff their ideas about some of these problems. Remand homes were under great strain during the war. They are intended to function as places of no more than temporary lodgment but the heavy increase in the number of offenders and the difficulties in obtaining buildings and staff for approved schools, mental deficiency institutions, special schools under the Education Act and foster parents entailed long periods of waiting in remand homes. Our visits were paid over a period of fifteen months during which the situation was improving, largely on account of some lessening of the difficulties in providing accommodation and partly of some lessening of the demand for accommodation. We understand that the general position is continuing to improve. As, however, it will be many months at least before conditions become normal we think it may be useful to place on record our notes of the conditions as we found them. Remand homes are of three kinds:—those managed directly by the local authorities, those managed by private persons (e.g., retired police officers, probation officers, etc.) and subsidised by the local authority, and homes managed by voluntary organisations which serve as remand homes and to which the local authority pays a capitation fee or makes some other contribution for remand cases. Some of the Homes described in paragraphs 225-271 were taking remand cases under this arrangement.

Administration

314. Remand homes managed by local authorities are usually administered by a sub-committee of the Education Committee; in a few cases there is a special committee of management. Several superintendents of homes which we visited commented upon the lack of interest taken by the sub-committees and one said that neither the members of the Committee nor visitors appointed by them under the Statutory Rules nor any of the Justices had ever visited the Home. Voluntary homes used as remand homes are often those maintained by committees of Moral Welfare Associations or similar bodies as shelters for girls and women or in some cases for boys who need some form of temporary lodging and assistance. Except for the capitation fee paid by the local authority for remand cases these homes are maintained entirely from charitable funds, and are often hard put to it to make both ends meet. They are managed by local committees of the Association and the local authority has little or no say in the arrangements. The fluctuation in numbers and the irregular periods of stay prevent the local authority from insisting on any special standard and in any case to do so would in many cases be beyond the resources of the Association or would mean that this standard could be maintained only at the expense of the other work of the Association. The capitation fees at the homes which we visited varied from 5s. to 10s. a day.

Homes Run by Voluntary Associations

315. The use of Homes managed by voluntary organisations has been necessary in the past because of the small number of girls who have been remanded compared with boys and the way in which they have been spread out over the areas. Only the largest remand homes have been able to take both boys and girls and among those we saw only one receiving both sexes. To maintain a remand home for girls only would either involve many local authorities in a heavy expense or would involve long journeys if the Homes were to be large enough to justify the employment of qualified staff. The arrangement had consequently come into being, of which we saw several examples, by which

the one or two remanded girls were received at the local voluntary shelter as their cases occurred. We found many of the problems with which remand homes are faced sharply accentuated in the voluntary homes which were handicapped by shortage of funds, in the provision of adequate staff, the size of premises and grounds, the occupations and education available. In spite of these handicaps many such Homes did excellent work with the remand girls but some which we saw were able to provide little if anything in the way of a planned régime.

Length of Stay

316. The period of stay in remand homes varies from a week or two for further enquiries including a medical report, to a period of months while arrangements for placement are made. Far the larger number of the children we saw were awaiting placement and it was plain from our discussions with the staff that the long periods spent by some children in remand homes had caused considerable anxiety. The children who remained for long periods fell into three groups as follows:

(1) Awaiting vacancies in Approved Schools.

A number of homes complained of long periods of waiting for vacancies in Approved Schools. In one voluntary girls' Home visited in June, 1945, accommodating ten, six girls had had periods of waiting as follows:—One: 5 months; two: 6 months; two: 7 months; one: 8 months. In one local authority boys' Home we were told that many boys had been held up for six months or more. In a voluntary Home thirteen out of a population of thirty girls had been awaiting transfer to an Approved School.

(2) Awaiting vacancies in Mental Deficiency Institutions or Residential Special Schools.

Several Homes complained of this problem. In one boys' Home out of a total population of seventeen, two were waiting for vacancies in Approved Schools and fourteen for vacancies in Residential Special Schools.

(3) Awaiting Boarding Out.

In this category also children seemed to have waited a considerable time for placement. We found one girl in a voluntary Home who had been waiting for eight months. These were children committed to the local authority as a "fit person" and retained for the time being in the remand home with the consent of the Home Secretary. It will be apparent that in any home the difficulty of providing a satisfactory life for two or more of these categories at the same time, and at the same time as the children who are remanded only for a week or two must be very great.

Physical Care

317. In a number of homes we were impressed by the appearance of the children, by the varied and plentiful diet and by the sensible type of clothes provided. In the local authority homes the premises were usually adequate and sometimes very good, with plenty of ground round the home for occupations and games and the value of this was pointed out by one Superintendent who asked for more ground. The provision was usually less good in the voluntary homes for reasons which have already been pointed out. In one or two homes the sanitary arrangements were deficient. In one local authority home for boys we noted "seriously unsatisfactory lavatories and baths. The provision was insufficient in view of the fact that very dirty boys were admitted, sometimes in the middle of the night."

318. Problems of medical care were fairly common in the girls' homes and in one or two we found some cause for anxiety. In the smaller voluntary homes there was seldom proper provision for the separation and medical care of girls who are or may be suffering from venereal disease; one such Home was badly overcrowded and as it sometimes received verminous girls as well as girls who may have been infected, it seemed that there might be real medical risks in remanding girls to it. For example:

"The building, flush with the main road leading into the town, and with only a very small back yard for recreation, is antiquated and inconvenient, some of its appointments being most primitive. There is, for example, only one bath, covered in, in the scullery. The drying and ironing room is very small, immediately under the roof and badly ventilated. There is no play-room, and we were told that a basement which had been used as an air-raid shelter, and is badly lit and ventilated was being considered for conversion, though it seemed to us quite unsuitable. The small bedrooms were quite pleasingly arranged. The accommodation seemed particularly unsatisfactory, since girls were held here pending the results of examination for venereal disease and during treatment, and the girls of school age were not going out to school."

Education and Occupation

319. It was not the usual practice to send the school age children to local schools during their period in the local authority Homes. Where education was given within the Home, a far heavier burden fell upon the staff in any time of shortage and education was inevitably the first thing to be neglected. Some local authorities met the difficulty of education within the Home by providing a visiting teacher but if for any reason the teacher gave up, the responsibility for maintaining some form of education fell back on to the staff of the Home. One Home for boys which had depended on a visiting teacher had had no real education since the teacher left seven months before our visit; in another no provision at all had been made for education, and in one or two where teaching was given there was no qualified teacher on the staff. In these Homes and in others in which education was interrupted or irregular because of staff difficulties, backward children held for long periods must have been at a serious disadvantage since they could ill afford to be deprived of normal educational opportunity.

320. In some voluntary Homes the children were sent out to school. In a few Homes we came across children whose education we thought was insufficiently provided for and in one Home where school age children had been held for many months at a time no provision had been made for education. The Matron had attempted to give them a little work from an "object lesson book". But she was obviously not able to spare the time for regular lessons. She had herself been troubled about the lack of provision for education.

321. The difficulty of providing full and varied occupation for boys and girls over school age appeared to be even greater than that of providing class room education. In most of the Homes domestic work occupied a considerable amount of the time and in a few it seemed to be almost the only occupation. For those boys and girls who stayed for a long period the life must have become increasingly monotonous and lacking in purpose and educational value. At one local authority remand home for girls we found the only inmate, a girl of fifteen, sitting in the kitchen bored and moody watching the woman in charge of her at her domestic work. In a voluntary home the girls did all the less interesting domestic work and had occasional classes from the

Superintendent when she had time to take them. After two months they must have been very bored: most of them had been staying for nine months at that date. At this Home full rations were not taken up. In contrast to these Homes were others in which the day was filled with interesting and educational occupations and care had been taken to introduce varied activities by enlisting the aid of visiting teachers and social workers.

Local authority Home for Girls. Accommodation for twelve. Present nine.

"Classes are arranged on several evenings of the week—e.g. "Hygiene" (starting from the subject of beauty culture and the proper care of skin and feet), needlework, and "keep-fit" classes. A group of girls seen in the evening were playing with the gramophone, knitting wool rugs, embroidery, writing letters and chatting together. The girls go out on long walks and picnics with the staff, and sometimes to the pictures. Housework is certainly not excessive here".

Voluntary Home for Girls. Accommodation eleven. Present eleven, of whom nine were on remand.

"At this Home there was an excellent time table of educational and recreational pursuits. The girls were kept interested and occupied with classes in the evening, domestic work, walks and games, music, dancing and gardening. A striking feature was the large share taken in neighbourhood activities. The girls not only went out to meals and meetings in the district, but invited A.T.S. girls and others to the Home. On Victory day they had gone to Church at their own request, had a fancy dress dance and in the evening a bonfire. There was a pleasant garden for games and the girls went to the pictures once a week."

It must be remembered that the mixture of ages and types found in the average remand home precludes, except in the larger Homes, adequate skilled instruction. The best that can be done is often so limited, because of the poor intelligence of most of the children, that the better endowed are left unprovided for.

Discipline

322. The problem of the mixture of children also affects discipline. Wherever we went a great deal was said about classification. It appeared to be generally felt that the usual arrangement by which a remand home received boys of all ages and girls of all ages from eight to seventeen was wrong and that much greater provision should be made for the segregation of certain moral types than was usually done as well as for those children who were infectious medically. We were not able to form an opinion about the necessity for segregation especially in terms of age but we thought that disciplinary problems were bound to occur where children of all ages were kept together for considerable periods. We heard of two instances of what we regarded as harsh discipline. It must, however, be remembered that in single visits of this kind it is only possible to judge of the methods used from what we were told by members of the staff, or from what we inferred from their attitudes and apparent relationships with the children. The most usual methods of discipline appeared to be sending the children to bed, and depriving them of outings, pocket money and other privileges. In some homes corporal punishment is used. Particulars of such punishment are entered in books inspected by the Home Office. Quarterly returns are made to the department.

Difficult Children

323. As far as we could judge the treatment of difficult children was in most cases sensible and kindly. The understaffing of most of the Homes accentuated this problem and several members of staff expressed concern about the responsibility which they were expected to undertake with little or no assistance. Absconding had occurred in several homes, but in others, where considerable freedom was given, less trouble had arisen than might have been expected. In some of the homes, particularly those catering for girls, the activities of the girls outside the home were very limited, partly because of apprehension about absconding. In one or two instances we thought that the girls did not get enough fresh air and exercise during the prolonged periods of residence which have already been described. The majority of the members of the staff to whom we talked had gained whatever knowledge they had of unstable children through their own experience. One or two of them were in touch with local Child Guidance Clinics.

Staff

324. Almost all the homes were understaffed and some seriously so. In one local authority home for boys the Superintendent and his wife had no assistance or domestic help and the Superintendent who was a qualified teacher was also responsible for education within the home. Of this home it was reported that the house was not clean and the boys' clothes were very dirty. With the usual mixed population of a remand home an intolerable burden must have been placed on this couple. A local authority Home for 24 boys aged 8 to 16 had as staff, Superintendent, Matron, domestic assistant and night man who also acted as relief. Since it was at this home that all arrangements for education had broken down the Superintendent must have been entirely responsible for the provision of occupation with very inadequate assistance. We found that in the local authority homes we visited the majority of male Superintendents had teaching and the women nursing qualifications; but some were qualified only by experience. Many other members of staff were qualified by experience in remand or other homes. In a number of cases the staff was supplemented by untrained and inexperienced workers who were the best which could be found, and could be relied upon for nothing more than "keeping an eye on the children". In the voluntary homes for girls the staff had usually been trained under Moral Welfare auspices often with nursing or teaching training in addition. In these homes staff was often very short in proportion to the number of girls with whom they might have to deal.

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HOMES AND INSTITUTIONS FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

(a) MENTALLY ILL OR DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

325. Evidence from local authorities, social workers, and members of the staffs of children's Homes and schools frequently stressed the lack of suitable accommodation for mentally disturbed, unstable, defective and epileptic children and the problems this occasioned, particularly when delinquency or excessively difficult behaviour is associated with some mental handicap. An example given was of a delinquent epileptic, discharged from an epileptic colony as difficult and from an approved school as epileptic; no satisfactory means of dealing with him had been found over a period of six years. Witnesses also stated that the admission of mentally disturbed children to mental hospitals usually involved their close association with adults whose symptoms were often of a distressing nature.

326. One of our members visited five mental hospitals and found in them 21 boys and girls under the age of 16 living with adults in wards and dayrooms. While there was no reason to doubt that they were being adequately cared for, the conditions seen, as well as discussions with the medical and nursing staff, gave point to the difficulties stressed by witnesses in this matter, viz., that special provision for mentally disordered children is urgently needed.

Institutions and Homes for the Mentally Defective (including Residential Special Schools)

327. Fourteen of these were visited, 9 under local authority and 5 under voluntary management. All the Local Authority establishments and the majority of the voluntary Homes had local committees, consisting usually of interested members who were actively concerned in the well-being and proper care of the patients, as well as with the administration of the institution, though exclusive concern with the latter was commented on in a few instances. All were certified or approved by the Board of Control for the reception of Certified Mental Defectives and, with one exception, all took adults as well as children. Admission and discharge of patients is regulated by the Mental Deficiency and Education Acts. Because of the nature of the problem, a large proportion of the children dealt with are received from areas outside those of their homes. We were disquieted about the conditions in one privately run establishment for retarded children and by the fact that children in the care of Public Assistance authorities had been sent there after an adverse report had been made. While we are aware that the care, training and education of mentally defective children is a matter requiring expert knowledge, we feel that our observations and discussions during the visits justify comment on certain points:

Accommodation

328. This was very satisfactory in some of the Homes seen, but the following illustrations show the great variation in standard:

Local authority institution for 50 boys and 50 girls, together with a larger number of adults: Mental Deficiency Act cases only.

"This building consists of an old work-house of scattered two storey buildings on the outskirts of a village in a high position. It was taken over by the Mental Deficiency Authority some ten years ago, and to the old stone buildings there have been added a number of modern brick houses accommodating about forty. There are two villas for children, one for boys and one for girls. In addition there is a small block for low grade children and cot cases. The houses, both more recently built than the main building, are well designed, spacious, widely separated and with ample grounds. Each house has a large room on the ground floor, with porch access to the garden, used both as a dining room and as a play room. There is in addition a smaller playroom. The playrooms contain jungle jims and push and pull toys, the composition floor being admirable for running about. The sleeping rooms contain about ten beds, well-spaced, with through ventilation. The beds, which are well sprung, are covered with bright green spreads which match the curtains. There are lockers for the children's own possessions between the beds, and poster pictures on the walls. The dining room contains small tables seating not more than six children. There are flowers on the tables. The food is cooked in a central kitchen and taken in thermostat containers to the various houses. On the ground floor of each house is a washing room with hand-basins served with hot and cold water, and foot baths. Water closets divided by low wooden walls lead off the washing room and are adequate in number. There are three baths to forty children, which can be divided

by screens. There is a good hot cupboard for drying outdoor clothing. There is an isolation room near the dormitories. The whole place seems well cared for. It is light and attractive."

Voluntary Home accommodating thirty patients.

. . . "the whole 'School' of twenty or thirty children was crowded into one comparatively small room, seated round a table Some of them were occupied with a few toys, but most of them were just passing the time in general hub-bub."

A local authority Home for 14 educable mentally deficient children seemed unnecessarily cramped in its accommodation. The living rooms were few and dark, the bedrooms rather better, the kitchen dark and neglected with ragged oilcloth on the table. There was only one bath for 14 boys in a home in which frequency of bathing is obviously desirable. There was no sign of comfort, little decoration and no pictures in the playroom.

Staff Numbers

329. There was acute shortage of staff according to their own standards in seven out of eight of these institutions, and in the eighth the staff establishment was considerably below its normal level. This is evidently a problem of great seriousness in the mental deficiency institutions at the present time, and affects both the local authority and the voluntary homes. The ratio of patients to staff varied from 16 to 1 to 7 to 1. Considering the fact that the attention needed is for the most part at least equal to that required for young children the staff in many of the homes is inadequate. The position was stated to us in strong terms by those who showed us around the institutions.

For example:

Local Authority institution for 550 adults and children. Full staff establishment, 56. Staff at present 36.

"They have never had a full staff in this part of the institution. They are so short-handed at the main building that cooking has to be undertaken in the villas, and the matron herself has had to undertake the cooking recently, and had just cooked the Sunday dinner on the day of our visit. The Nurses' House has had to be closed because of shortage of staff."

Local Authority institution for 98 adults and children. Full staff establishment, eight nurses and one laundress. Now five nurses.

"When I arrived the Matron was cooking the staff dinner as there are no cooks, though the establishment provides for three."

Voluntary institution for 750 adults and children. Forty-five nursing staff needed. Present 24.

"The regulation hours of 48 a week have had to be considerably extended, and domestic staff is almost entirely lacking. This is made more serious by the fact that the Institution includes a block for 40 morally defective women. There is not enough staff to have a night nurse on duty, and there has been a serious problem with absconding, which takes the Matron off her other duties, including the care of the children."

Qualifications of Staff (excluding Teaching Staff)

330. Some of these institutions were in the charge of resident Medical Superintendents, others were managed by Matrons who are State Registered Nurses without mental training. In two of the institutions, apart from the Medical Superintendent and the Matron, none of the staff was trained, although in one of them, the Nurses were working for their Mental Nursing qualification,

In several of the others, of which we were given particulars, only a small proportion of the nursing staff was trained. In one home which we regarded as under-staffed, four out of six members of staff were trained as general and/or mental nurses.

Physical Care of Children

331. We thought the physical care of these children very good in ten of these Homes, fair in two and really poor in two. The following are comments from reports of visits.

"The children were seen at tea, and looked brown and well and beautifully clothed, particularly the girls."

"The children are happy, well nourished and well cared for."

"The institution is said to be 'full to over-flowing,' and this combined with shortage of staff means that much less individual attention is given than should be given, and that the sleeping accommodation is inadequate. The dayroom for low grade patients has had to be scrapped to make room. There are six extra beds in each dormitory, thus going beyond the approved health regulations.

"The dormitories contain about thirty beds in the high grade block. In the low grade block there were twenty-nine beds in rooms which should hold twenty-five and in one room a mattress was on the floor because of shortage of beds. On the beds in September there was only one blanket. The sheets and pillow cases on some of the beds were so much patched that there seemed very little of the original left. The central heating is said not to work very well, and the rooms to be very cold in the winter.

"In the central building where the high grade children sleep, there are about fifty girls to one bath, and baths are only possible once a week, though there is said to be plenty of hot water, and a strip wash is given once a day."

Occupation, Education and Training of the Children

332. Distinction must here be made between the institutions catering for educable children and those caring only for children certified under the Mental Deficiency Acts. It should, however, be remembered that amongst the children certified under the Mental Deficiency Acts are some who have been excluded from school as detrimental to other children, or because of "special circumstances," and that these children may be of higher grade in mental development, though difficult in their behaviour.

333. Taking institutions for children not regarded as educable first, it was clear that there were wide differences of standard in occupation and training even in the four institutions which fell into this category. As an example of imaginative care and training, the following description is given:

Local Authority institution for adults and children. Present about 100 boys and girls of under sixteen—Mental Deficiency Act cases only.

"Although this institution is not for so called 'educable' mental defectives, there are at present twenty-eight here who are regarded as educable. Because of this group there is a 'school' in the Colony. The school room is small attractive room in one of the old buildings. It contains small desks, a piano, low slates and mirrors, so that the children can watch their own movements. The garden has good swings, and a sandpit. Inside is a well worn jungle jim. There are Scouts, and in peace-time, Guides, and the staff seem to welcome this as of educational value. The girls belonging to the Guides have a special dormitory. In the past holidays have occasionally been arranged through the Central Association for Mental

Welfare holiday homes, but not since the war. There is a break for school holidays and picnics are arranged. The children had gone on a picnic on the day of our visit. Personal possessions were provided for in the dormitory lockers. Some of the older girls go out to work, and they live in a separate part of one of the houses. They are allowed personal possessions on their dressing tables, and a special point was made of making these rooms seem homely for them."

At a Home for eighty mentally deficient girls, aged 14 and over, run as part of a Convent we saw an excellent example of what can be done by care and enterprise. These girls varied very greatly in degree of efficiency from an idiot who could do nothing but sit and be fed, to girls who were undertaking embroidery of good standard, leather work, rug-making, dressmaking, and a large variety of other crafts. These girls frequently acted in plays prepared by the Sisters and thoroughly enjoyed it—some we were told had undoubted talent. There was a cinematograph in the Home. In this Home the rooms were painted in bright colours (some of the painting was done by the girls and we saw some of them painting some bathrooms), flowers and floral china were provided; the girls made bath mats and rugs for bedrooms and patchwork quilts for the beds and bright nightdress cases. There were plenty of pictures and pretty curtains everywhere. Compared with the surroundings of many of the children described in earlier parts of this report this Home was outstanding in its effort to provide a happy place for these unfortunate girls. In contrast to this we could again quote the voluntary home in which, apart from domestic work, there seemed to be nothing whatever for the children to do, and in which the difficulties of mixed ages must be insuperable.

Voluntary home, housing seventy patients aged 5 to 54 years—Mental Deficiency Act cases only.

"All the children were described as ineducable. I understand, however, that there used to be a teacher for these children but that she was not replaced when she left. The Matron told me that she was quite satisfied that a teacher was necessary but it was quite impossible to get one.

Unfortunately we did not see the classes at work in any of the institutions providing Special Schools for educationally sub-normal children, but we were able to get some idea of the educational staff and of the variety of occupations given to the children. We were well impressed with the appearance of some of the classrooms and with what we heard about the methods of education used. For example:

School run by Voluntary Committee for retarded children.

"Both class teaching and provision for recreation were on admirable lines. The boys built their own paddling pool and made hutches for their pet rabbits. The outdoor occupations would have been excellent for any type of boy."

Outside Contacts, Holidays, etc.

334. There are obvious difficulties in keeping these children in touch with life outside the institution. Many have no hope of returning to ordinary life even when admitted as educable under the Education Act. It spoke well for their attitude towards the care of children that the staff in some of the homes went to considerable trouble to take them outside the grounds, and even to give them some responsibility for work outside when they

reached working age. This kind of arrangement seemed to be particularly good in five of the local authority homes and in marked contrast to three other homes two of them under voluntary auspices. For example:

Local Authority Institutions for 320 boys and girls in Special School.

"There is probably more attempt to encourage responsibility by allowing the boys outside the premises than there is in most homes of this type. At the present time some boys are doing paper rounds in the neighbourhood and some friendships are made in this way. Boys are allowed to go in small groups into the town to the cinema, etc. This occasionally leads to absconding but the boys sometimes come back of their own accord and in any case absconding is not considered as a serious problem. There are football and cricket teams and these compete keenly with other teams, generally meeting on a field at the Colony."

Local Authority Home for 25 boys and girls.

"The home has its own company of cubs. The children attend outside cinemas and go for country walks and picnics."

These homes usually run their own Scout and Guide troops in peace time. Several homes arranged holidays away in normal times at special holiday homes catering for defective children. One voluntary institution seen possessed its own holiday home.

After Care

335. Some of the children leaving these institutions go out on licence, some are transferred to other forms of community care such as statutory supervision or guardianship and some are discharged to their parents. It was estimated in one residential school that 5 per cent. of the children were discharged at 16. In another the estimate was 1 per cent. It has already been stated that a few of the older boys and girls go out to work from the institution itself; some of the girls to domestic service, and some of the boys to newspaper rounds. These plans appeared to work quite well.

336. In connection with one of the old established voluntary colonies, there are several hostels, two for girls and women about to go out on licence, who may undertake domestic work in the neighbourhood; another for men undertaking agricultural work. We did not visit these hostels, and we are not sure how far the ages of the patients for whom these arrangements were made brought them within our terms of reference. One local authority had a similar hostel for girls. We came across no instance of a member of the staff undertaking responsibility for supervision of the boys and girls who left, though doubtless some of the Medical Superintendents and matrons keep in friendly touch with them. The more usual plan is for the children to be returned to the supervision of the social worker employed for this purpose by the Local Authority in the area from which they came.

(b) PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

337. We visited five hospitals for long stay cases (mainly orthopaedic or heart) (one of which was closed to visitors because of an epidemic), two Institutions for deaf and dumb children, two sanatorium schools for children, two crippled children's homes, three Homes for blind babies, and a home of recovery for sick children, at all of which deprived children were taken. The purpose of our visits was not to assess the medical care, for few of us would have been competent to judge this, but to estimate as well as we could the

conditions under which many of the children spent long years of their childhood and the sort of occupations, interests and contacts which were provided for them. In so far as the hospital or Home had for long periods to take the place of the natural home, we were anxious to see how far it was able to supply any substitute for the part played by family care in the child's development.

Organisation and Administration

338. The hospitals which we visited were run by their own committee or board and we were told more than once of the interest taken by the committee in the work of the hospital. The Homes for crippled children and for deaf and dumb children were all run by voluntary organisations or committees carrying out the terms of special trusts. The Home of recovery was run by a small local committee whose keenness was evident in the exceptionally pleasant atmosphere of the Home.

339. We did not ascertain the exact length of stay of any of the children whom we saw in the various institutions. In the orthopaedic hospitals the stay was generally for at least a year, often for many years. In the deaf and dumb homes the children spent most of their childhood as they did often in the cripple homes. In the Home for the blind they remained only for a year or two before transfer. The Home of recovery took children for periods up to two years.

Orthopaedic Hospitals

340. We were well impressed by the physical comfort and surroundings of the children. Two of the buildings were modern hospitals, one with a separate block for children who were in a ward from which beds could easily be wheeled on to a verandah. Another hospital intended only for children was set in pleasant grounds which could be seen from the wards and verandahs. It was unusual to see any attempts to make the ward attractive to children by means of curtains, paint or other decoration.

341. Qualified teachers conduct classes in all the hospitals which we saw. A nursery school teacher takes the children under 5 and other teachers take the various wards. The ratio of teachers to children is high (about 1 : 10) but it must be remembered that only a few of the children can be taught at tables and many cannot leave their beds. On the whole, the education given seemed real schooling and not a means of occupation. In a smaller hospital catering for sixteen children, a teacher from the Local Education Department attended daily for two hours in the morning and one hour in the afternoon. Most of the children were inactive, so that teaching would have to be done at the bedside. In two hospitals the occupations provided for the children's leisure seemed good and varied as the following notes show:

"The children were in their cots and had ample play material and seemed to be very happy . . . the staff seemed to be genuinely kind people and to take a great interest in the care of the children from the well-being point of view as well as from the treatment point of view. The children who are lying in bed at rather awkward angles seem to be kept occupied. There was a very happy atmosphere about the whole place. They had plenty of toys and the Matron knew each of them by name and they greeted her very keenly. The Matron is evidently a lover of children and she evidently inspires this in the nurses. . . . There is a good library, and any older boy or girl who wants any other type of educational book can get it from the Central Library. The nurses take a great interest in the children, quite apart from their treatment. This is probably because such an interest is encouraged by the Matron and the doctors. Voluntary

workers visit the hospital to take the children out in wheel chairs. Local Toc H arranges entertainments in the wards every Wednesday afternoon The children's birthdays are always kept, and they have birthday parties and presents."

In the other hospitals we were less satisfied with the arrangements made for interesting occupation and friendly relationships, though it may have been that we visited at an unfortunate time of day. One example may be given:

" We called at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The children were lying on their beds, mostly awake. One or two had picture books or dolls, but others had nothing and looked bored. A young nurse was in charge and did not seem much interested in discussing the welfare or occupations of the children. It seemed that these children had little of occupational or social interest after the teacher left at three o'clock in the afternoon, though most of them appeared well enough to need this. We were told that there were two occupational therapists in the hospital, but that they did not have anything to do with the children who were receiving education. The parents are allowed to visit once a week, and more often if a child is very ill. In special circumstances, such as the leave of Service fathers, more frequent visits are allowed."

Homes for Deaf and Dumb Children

342. One of the two institutions for deaf and dumb children which housed 80 boys and 70 girls aged three to sixteen sent by Education authorities from all parts of the country, was run by a sisterhood. The staff of sisters and technical instructors numbered forty, some of whom were old pupils. The speech training and general education given here seemed to us careful and thorough; the children were obviously keen to learn and the staff devoted and cheerful. At the other institution the classrooms round a central hall were designed for ten or twelve. Both these institutions were large and barrack-like in appearance and old fashioned in furnishings, though both were set in beautiful grounds. The rooms at the first were very comfortless and bare with forms for seats and little in the way of decoration. At the Convent the rooms were very bright and clean and it was pleasant to find a toy on the bed of each child in the dormitories for younger children. There was a very happy atmosphere in this place, but we regretted that this group of children, already so isolated from other children and from the world, could not be housed in more modern buildings with a more homelike and comfortable appearance. When it is remembered that these children spend the whole period of their childhood in these Homes except for holidays, the need for comfort and brightness is apparent. Even in the buildings we saw, much more could have been done to help them by pictures and decoration.

Homes for Crippled Children

343. We visited one Home for boys aged 10 to 19 and one for crippled children, both boys and girls. At the first the boys suffer from incurable diseases but, in spite of terrible distortion, are able with the specialised help and the encouragement of the staff to achieve a great deal in work and play. The standard of intelligence was high, almost all the boys coming up to Grammar School level. Education is carried on in the Home, much of it is intended to encourage or preserve manual dexterity and consists of such handicrafts as fretwork and the making of toys. One boy was seen playing the piccolo. The boys played games like billiards from their wheeled chairs. There was an excellent library in this Home which was organised and controlled by one of the boys on strict library lines. The whole curriculum was planned to make the most of the children's time and abilities and to keep

them as normal as possible in a very restricted life. We were impressed by the staff at this Home, their devotion and their attitude to the children generally. Each boy had his own locker which is only tidied out if he is present to say what should be retained. These lockers are never looked at by the staff unless they are found open. At the other Home we were equally impressed by the individual attention given to the children, both physical and psychological. We wished that some of the lessons which had evidently been learned in the care of these severely handicapped children could have been passed on to those in charge of Homes for normal children. In spite of the difficulties of distance in the case of both these Homes, a close contact was kept by the children with their families. Parents were allowed to visit freely and many other visitors came.

Homes for Blind Children

344. We saw three Homes for blind babies. One was an admirable building beautifully equipped for its purpose and was run for infants under three, at which age the children passed to residential nurseries run by the same organisation. The staff at this Home consisted of a matron and assistant matron, both State Registered Nurses, a Norland trained Staff Nurse, a cook and five probationers. Owing to shortage of staff and the starting of the 48 hour week it was not possible for someone to be constantly with the children in order to give them the sense of security which must be specially needed by blind children at so young an age. We were only able to pay a short visit to this Home, but we left it with some doubt about the value of a purely hospital training for those who are to have the entire charge of the children. At this Home there was great efficiency and much real kindness, but warmth of affection and motherliness seemed lacking.

Children's Sanatorium Schools

345. We visited two local authority Children's Sanatorium Schools of very contrasting standards. The first, which housed 180 tubercular children aged 3 to 16 years of age had—

" a Headmistress and nine teachers, all qualified. There were modern classrooms for those children who were able to walk about and specially equipped verandah classrooms for bed cases. All the children were able to have a normal school education. Those who were retarded on admission were given individual tuition. School began at 9 a.m., continued until 12 noon, began again at 2 p.m. and continued until 4 p.m. After 6 p.m. the teachers took turns to remain on duty in order to help the children with games, reading, letter-writing, hobbies, etc. Five out of seven entrants had gained the School Certificate and four had won Scholarships. Teaching is partly carried on by special interior broadcasting methods. Both teachers and children used the broadcasting system, the children giving nature talks and talks on hobbies. Most of the equipment was on special wheels, such as blackboards, nature study trolleys, trays of tools and pianos. The trolleys were at bed level. Other classes were held for mural painting, needlework and special handicrafts. These classes were considered to be diversional therapy and, though educational, not part of the normal school education. We considered this Sanatorium a remarkable place. The children did not appear to be sick children and even the most deformed were lively and intelligent."

The second Sanatorium School was a shocking contrast. We found the twenty-two children here housed in decayed wooden huts which had been condemned before the war. The rebuilding programme intended then had been prevented

by the war and the continued use of the huts was, we were told, due to pressure of space owing to the use of the area as a Reception area. We were also told that within a fortnight of our visit the children would be rehoused in an existing modern block of the isolation Hospital. It was, however, as well that we should have seen the conditions in which most of the children had been living for as much as two years. The sanatorium and the conditions prevailing in it at the time of our visit were no less than shocking. It had been virtually uninspected for years on end; the only inspection of which we could hear had been made by a Ministry of Education Medical Inspector in 1943. The school had never been inspected by an Educational Inspector of the Ministry nor, so far as we could discover, of the Local Authority. The report made in 1943 (which we were able to see) stated that the accommodation had been twice condemned: it was described as "rat ridden and unsafe." The transfer of the children to one of the closed Isolation Wards was recommended. The same state of things was found and the same remedy proposed when we visited in November, 1945. The remedy was at last applied in June, 1946. The children were, we found, being taught as a separate unit by a visiting teacher. Twelve girls in one hut and 10 boys in another, aged 4 to 14, were taught together in one of the huts. We were told that the teacher (whom we did not see) was competent and did her best for the children, though discouraged by the conditions and the lack of any inspection arrangement. The heating provided (a central stove in a large ward) and the lighting (which shone from the centre into the eyes of the children in their beds) were altogether out of date. There were holes in the floor boards, the decoration was dreary and the surrounding of overgrown vegetation depressing. The emphasis was (perhaps rightly) on medical treatment rather than education but, making all allowance for handicaps, the children seemed remarkably backward. There was an obvious need for some form of occupation to fill the gap between the limited hours of schoolroom education and the children's long hours of entire leisure which the few nurses could not hope to deal with. The children seemed to have few toys and little or no materials for play or hand-work; they were bored and listless. It was clear to us that the nursing staff and the teacher were struggling with almost impossible conditions.

Home of Recovery

346. The Home for sick children which we visited was one of the most delightful of any kind which we saw. It was run by a young matron in a pleasant country house on to which had been built wards and schoolrooms. The ward we saw was a large glass sided square with sliding shutters. The children at the time of our visit were having lessons. The matron was helped by a small local committee.

BOARDING OUT

BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES

347. We examined methods of boarding out in all local authorities' offices we visited and made visits to boarded out children in 20 areas. Usually we obtained a list of children, their ages and addresses, at short notice from the officials and made a representative selection from it. Thus in four county areas where members spent several days in an investigation of boarding out care was taken that not only the more accessible children were seen but also those in the remote rural areas. In other instances we made a point of visiting all the members of one family however scattered. After visiting the

foster homes a conference was held with local authority officials (in a few cases the conference was held first and in a few a conference took place before and after the visit) at which questions of interest arising from the arrangements could be discussed. We also read a number of children's records and in some districts were also able to see the health and education records for the same children. We were thus able to see the organisation working and gauge its value. We met in almost every case great frankness, a genuine wish to withhold nothing and a real desire to do the best for the children. We received a warm welcome from the foster parents and often also from the children. There was a general assumption on the part of officials and foster parents that the reason for our enquiries was to prevent a repetition of the O'Neill case.

Visitors

348. The arrangements varied considerably as between authority and authority. In one rural county each area had a Children's Committee or a Boarding Out Committee, the members of which acted as voluntary visitors to the children in their area. When additional visitors were needed individuals were added to the committees by the nomination of the Public Assistance or Education departments, the Chairman of the Committee or, if a substitute were required, by the retiring member. The members were largely women, and usually held some recognised position, such as magistrate, doctor, local councillor, or councillor's wife; they were usually aged between 50 and 60. All appointments were for three years in the first instance but as most of the members had been visiting for some years the renewal was probably a formality. No paid visitor was employed in this county.

349. We found mixed views about the value of voluntary visitors. Some people thought that by their local knowledge and local contacts they constituted a genuine safeguard to the children in their area. Others thought that they were too inexperienced to recognise the problems with which they might be confronted. As it was expressed to us "they were apt to pat the children on the head and think that they were quite happy". Other officials mentioned such difficulties as unreliability about visiting, and slowness in paying emergency visits if the foster home was isolated. We ourselves noticed in many cases the poor standard of reports, the infrequency of visits and the difficulty of officials in mentioning such defects to the visitor who might be a person of some importance in the locality. While in most cases the voluntary visitors were spoken of with appreciation, the inadequacy of some visiting was brought forcibly home to us, as in one case of a visitor who always visited on horse back and was unable to remain more than a few minutes "because the horse would not stand". From our own interviews with voluntary visitors we formed the opinion that although the work attracted devoted and sometimes very capable women, their personal suitability for the work was not always very marked and their other commitments often hindered them from doing all that was necessary. In particular we thought that there was a serious danger that the more difficult children might not get the skilled, frequent supervision which they needed.

350. In a number of other areas paid visitors were employed but we did not meet any who had received special training for the work before appointment. Thus one county borough was in the habit of sending a shorthand typist from the Public Assistance office to visit children in the care of the Public Assistance department while a superintendent school attendance officer visited the children boarded out by the Education department. In another county borough the visitor had had some experience of school attendance and had taken a short course with the Provisional National Council for Mental Health. In other

cases the boarding out visitors were hospital nurses, a woman who had attended a police training course, school attendance officers, clerks, etc. In one area the Health visitors supervised all the boarding out arrangements for Public Assistance children in addition to supervising fostering under the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee.

351. The paid visitors received salaries on local authority scales (with even in these cases variations between the departments) rising to a maximum of about £220 a year, in most cases with bonus in addition. In the main they displayed great interest and industry. They were usually women of some practical ability between 25 and 50 years of age, familiar with local conditions but often lacking the imagination and resourcefulness of the trained worker. Some of them felt that no specialised training was required; others expressed a wish to take a thorough training. The worker who had attended the National Council course had been delighted with it.

352. The work of these officers was supervised administratively by the Chief Officers of the Public Assistance and Education departments or their deputies. In one area we were able to discuss the work with one of the assistants in the Education department who gave up a proportion of her time to it. She was a graduate who had been a teacher. In this area an advertisement had been drafted for a trained boarding-out visitor at a salary of £300 to £350, who was to take over the bulk of the work from the voluntary visitors.

Choice of Foster Home

353. We were told that the method of finding foster homes by advertisement had been found to be unsatisfactory, as a large number of the replies proved unsuitable after investigation. There was an interesting exception to this in one county borough where an advertisement had asked merely for a kind home for a homeless child with no mention of any payment. The replies to this had been uniformly good. One foster mother who was happily settled with a not very easy little boy of five told the member who visited her that she had not the least idea when she replied that she would be paid for looking after him and had been quite prepared to take him in place of her own child which she had lost a year or two before.

354. Usual methods of finding homes were through the recommendation of visitors (particularly in one area by voluntary visitors who were constantly on the look out for fresh homes) and through the recommendation of other foster parents. We came across no instance in which any real publicity had been given to the work through articles in the press, lectures at women's guilds or at parish meetings.

Investigation

355. In all the areas which we visited some investigation was always made of the home before it was accepted for placing, but it must be reported that there was often a good deal of "hit or miss" about these preliminary enquiries. A great deal of reliance seemed to be placed on the first impressions formed by the visitor. In some cases this impression was not confirmed by inquiry from local clergy or teachers or by requiring references. In others reference to two persons of recognised position was required and local knowledge was also tapped. In no case did we find that any inquiry even in the most general or discreet terms had been addressed to the police about the applicant's record. In most cases the first interview was with the foster mother and sometimes it happened that the foster father had never been seen because he was away on war service, or out at work. The attitude in such cases appeared to be "it's the woman that matters". It was not uncommon to find that the foster parents' undertaking was required to be signed only by the foster mother. In one

county area a special letter to referees had recently been drawn up and found very useful putting specific questions about the foster parents, such as character, health, religion, moral principles, reputation and capacity for bringing up a child. In only one instance, did we find that written references were supplemented by personal interviews with referees. We heard many comments from officers of the Public Health Departments that that Department was not consulted about the suitability of the Home. Most authorities were careful to ensure that children only went to homes where there was a minimum income level. We found, however, that there was a sensible attitude in most cases and a recognition that if the environment was otherwise good, and it was clear that there was no mercenary motive, the economic factor should not be unduly stressed; that there was room for elasticity and adjustment of clothing and other allowances; and that foster parents generally were alive to the value of such social services as school milk and meals, free orange juice and cod liver oil. The freedom of the foster mother to spend time on the child and the motives behind the application were almost invariably considered. In one area we found the few cases where the foster mother was working were specially supervised.

356. The responsibility for the final approval of the home usually rested with the committee of the Council responsible for the child where there were paid visitors and with the Children's Committee or Boarding Out Committee where there were voluntary visitors. Approval was given on the report of the official or visitor concerned.

Choice of Child for Home

357. As a general rule as soon as the foster home was found to be suitable either the official responsible for the particular department (where there were voluntary visitors) or the paid visitor, selected a child corresponding as nearly as possible to the choice of the foster mother and took him along for the foster parents to see. In other areas the foster mother went to the children's Home where she was able to see the child with other children and could decide whether or not he was suitable. The dangers of careless placing were constantly brought home to us both in the Homes to which children had been returned and in our own investigations. In the Cottage Homes of one county borough we saw a heart-broken small boy of three who had been boarded out with a woman who for some weeks had loved him and spoilt him and who had then returned him to the Home.

Motive for Taking Child

358. We found that the most frequent reasons for taking a child were to provide a companion for an only child or to have a child where a couple were childless. Some of the childless couples were older than is desirable in foster parents and it was noticeable that the less good homes were often found where the couples were elderly.

Economic Standard of Homes

359. We saw a large proportion of homes of superior standard. The foster parents lived in well-furnished five- or six-roomed houses and their income level allowed for a certain amount of extras. In one county we found that a number of foster children were being given piano lessons and had got bicycles. Other homes which we saw were old country cottages, some without baths and one or two without indoor lavatories but in almost all the child had a room to himself. In very few did we find that he shared a room with other children and only in one or two with the foster mother or foster parents.

In many homes it was clear that the payment received was not regarded as the measure of what could be spent. Besides those extras already mentioned it was usual to provide the foster child with clothes, toys and entertainment as for any other member of the family. We received complaints about rates for clothing, usually in those homes in which the income was for some reason or other low (a widow living on a pension or a foster father on the point of retirement) and this seemed to indicate that it would not be safe to place children at the usual rates if overhead costs were not met from the income of the foster parents.

Rates of Payment

360. We found a uniform scale of payment in only a few of the areas we visited. In the rest the scales had been devised separately by the various local authority departments, though they were often closely similar. In the same way, local authorities boarding out children in areas of other authorities sometimes kept to their own rate of payment although it might be different from that paid locally. The lowest payment of which we heard was 10s. a week for a child under 14, the highest for the same age was 20s. 6d. It was usual to increase the rate with age, often in three stages, although we came across one exception in a scale which provided for a special supplement for all children below the age of seven, the total sum varying from 20s. 6d. for a child of under three to 15s. 6d. for the child of five to seven and decreasing to 13s. at seven. The justification for the special scale was the extra trouble caused by small children. In one area where a uniform payment of 16s. was made, we were told that "if foster parents can be obtained at all, they can be obtained for 16s.". We came across one instance of special rates of pay being officially agreed upon for all children with special difficulties, and in one or two areas we found that special supplements were paid in these cases. No difference appeared to be made by the provision of school meals. In one area we were told that the foster mother could not afford to pay for the school meal out of the payment made for the child.

361. We came across no case of payment which was recognised as providing remuneration for the foster mother, although, in the case of the higher payments for children under three and specially difficult children, the higher payment could be considered to be payment for additional work done.

362. The general effect of these different rates was bewildering. It would be possible to find small children paid for at three different rates by the same local authority and at three different rates by an outside authority, all in the same area. Such uneven payment only resulted in resentment in the lower paid group of foster mothers and could not be justified on any economic basis. There would have been no difficulty about paying uniform payments for the different age groups in the same area.

Clothing

363. In every case some extra payment towards the cost of clothing was made. These payments varied from 52s. 6d. a quarter to 30s. a quarter (which was, we were usually told, too low), but in some areas one or two pairs of boots were given as well as the allowance. Judging by the clothes shown to us in a number of homes, the actual amount spent on clothing was very much more than the allowance in most cases.

Pocket Money

364. As in the case of children in Homes, the allowances for pocket money varied considerably. The minimum allowances for children varied from 1d. to 6d. The maximum allowance varied from 4d. to 2s. for children over eleven. Children were often given sweets in addition.

Medical Care

365. The recent revision of boarding out arrangements in a number of areas following the O'Neill case resulted in some changes in the arrangements for medical care. The usual method seemed to have been for the Public Assistance department to get the child medically examined before boarding out but afterwards to leave the foster mother to call in her doctor as required. Sometimes there was a further check by the district medical officer. The arrangements made by the education authorities seemed to rely largely on the school medical service after the examination within a month of placing, so that a year or more might elapse between the examinations. Although careful instructions were usually given to the foster mothers about calling in the doctor, there was little check that she followed the advice. In a remote village we came across one small boy with what appeared to be septic sores on his legs which were tied up with none too clean bandages. He had not seen a doctor and the foster mother had not thought of taking him to one. If anything had gone wrong there would have been no outside check on the use made of expert medical advice. In another area we were told that all school children boarded out were specially examined every six months, checked, and that if the child missed the medical examination his card would be sent to the doctor for a further visit. This system, though it appeared to be water tight, broke down in the first case in which, because of some special health difficulty, we made inquiries. The card had been overlooked and was still in the index.

366. It was usual to make the initial examination in the children's Home or workhouse from which most of the children were boarded out. After that, a great deal appeared to be left to the individual foster mothers. Although far the greater number of the children we saw were well and healthy, there were a few about whom we felt some anxiety. We were doubtful whether the foster mothers were intelligent enough to recognise the possible need for special advice and thought that expert help might be called in too late. If the child missed the school examination he might go on with some disability or disquieting symptom for a number of years.

The Up-bringing of the Children

367. In judging the kind of care given to foster children we took particular notice of the relationship between foster parents and child so far as we were able to see it and of the provision made for the child's leisure. We were very much impressed by the way in which in the best of the homes the children were taken completely into the family circle, the good sense and understanding with which they were treated, and the interest shown in them. Our notes constantly showed the affection and pride with which these children were treated. This attitude in the foster parents was particularly marked in one case where the foster child was not only enuretic but of very poor intelligence and very difficult to deal with. This child, in spite of tendencies which might have appalled natural parents, was the darling of the household. Her clothes, specially furnished bedroom, her toys were the very best that could be provided for her. The foster parents were even paying for her to go to a private school because they thought that the headmistress of the elementary school "had a down on her".

368. We did not find any home in which there was any cause for anxiety about the physical care of the child though in some we thought that the choice of home had not been good. In one or two instances we thought the attitude of the foster parent over-possessive and in a few we were doubtful about the suitability of the foster mother for looking after small children on account of age or some disability. These cases were, however, exceptions,

for in the large majority of foster homes the children were treated with kindness and their difficulties dealt with with skill and common sense and they had settled happily into the home. Indeed in many foster mothers we found a special awareness of their need for compensation and a recognition of their special problems. Where the child was dull or difficult there was often an obvious attempt to shield him from criticism and to discover compensating abilities.

369. Most of the children were living the kind of lives which they would have lived as true children of the home. On the whole they took a normal share in family activities helping with the housework and shopping, running errands and, especially in the case of boys, working with the foster father. Many belonged to Guides and Scouts or went to clubs and other youth activities. We visited a number of homes soon after Christmas and were shown an imposing array of presents and a large number of Christmas trees.

370. The success of boarding out in the areas in which we examined it was considerable. Not only did the children (often coming from distressing circumstances or an unstable background) seem to settle and to flourish, but they appeared happy and well adjusted to their way of life. The following observation made by one group of members on their boarding out investigation illustrates this. "The contrast between the children in Homes and the boarded out children was most marked. The boarded out children suffered less from segregation, starvation for affection and lack of independence. They bore a different stamp of developing personality, and despite occasional misfits were manifestly more independent. For example, they were much more indifferent to visitors, were much better satisfied by their environment (by which we mean the special features of security and love). There was, we thought, much greater happiness for the child integrated by boarding out into a family of normal size in a normal home."

Supervision

371. We noticed with some concern that although difficulties with children were freely admitted, they had very rarely been discussed with the visitor, and often no hint of trouble appeared on the report. This failure to appreciate the position in the home seemed much more frequent in the case of the voluntary visitors than in the case of paid workers who, although untrained, were usually more accustomed to summing up a situation. It seemed to us that only the general high standard of the homes chosen ensured protection from another O'Neill tragedy because in many cases exactly the same conditions of supervision prevailed: the visiting was irregular and infrequent and often inadequate, and although the visitors were in almost every case well liked, they seemed to have little real knowledge of the people with whom they were dealing. If, even in the many excellent homes which we saw, there had been an unexpected change through the death of one parent, or loss of income or the onset of illness, the home might well have changed its character without any realisation on the part of the visitor of the possible worsening of the child's condition. It must be recorded in fairness that the warm welcome given to us suggested that the foster parents were glad to see visitors (and we called at all sorts of strange and inconvenient hours). We found that we had only to mention the usual visitor's name to be asked in.

372. We were troubled about the long gaps which sometimes occurred between visits. If a visitor resigned or left there was often a long interval before another was appointed and in the case of voluntary visitors there were often long gaps in visiting which were explained as due to domestic difficulties which, though understandable, would not have been accepted as a reason in a paid worker. In some instances the voluntary visitors were ill-instructed

in the boarding-out regulations and in what could be done for the child. We found that several foster mothers asked our advice about matters with which it was the duty of the local authority to deal, but about which the visitor seemed unable to give assistance. One foster mother we visited had three more children in the house than was allowed by the regulations. These children had been placed by a voluntary organisation but no report on numbers had been made by the visitor in spite of the fact that the sleeping conditions, though not a matter of hardship, were not satisfactory. In the case of a foster child on probation for stealing (whom in spite of repeated visits we were unable to see) there was no sign on the record of any contact with the probation officer and no note of a mentally defective relative living in the house, nor of what was common gossip in the neighbourhood, that the boy was made to do far too much work for the foster parents. One visitor, aged 69, told us that she felt unable any longer to go long distances. She was inclined to rely on seeing the children about in the neighbourhood. In another instance both the foster mother and the visitor were very deaf.

373. We paid a few visits with some of the salaried boarding-out visitors. In some cases the workers' approach was skilful and understanding, and we were impressed by the trouble which had been taken to inform the foster mother fully of the child's previous history, the easy and happy relationship between the visitor and the whole family and the care taken that the children in their charge should be encouraged in every way to develop their special interests. Most of the salaried visitors did not reach this standard. While they were obviously well-liked and conscientious, they lacked the perception of the trained worker. We had some doubt whether, had the situation required it, they would have been able to take action in a difficult case.

Stability of Foster Home

374. A number of the children we visited had been in the foster home since infancy, and many remained in or in touch with the foster home after the age of 14. The particularly difficult child of nine mentioned in paragraph 367 had been with the foster parents since she was two. The length of stay in the foster homes of the children we saw varied from four months to ten years. Some of these children had had a particularly disturbed infancy, but the liability to change had been quite as marked in the institution as in the foster home. One child we saw had been in five institutions and three foster homes before she was eleven. Another child had been in four institutions and two foster homes before the age of eight. So far as we could ascertain these children had shown no particular difficulties. Out of 24 boarded-out children seen in one county, eight had been in at least one other foster home and three had been in more than one other foster home. No child had had more than two previous foster home moves. Most changes of foster home had taken place during the war owing to special circumstances.

Brothers and Sisters

375. The desirability of keeping members of the same family together was recognised in most of the areas visited, but we gained the impression that although an effort was made in the first instance to place the children together or within easy distance these arrangements quickly broke down if for any reason a change had to be made, and after a time it was lost sight of. In one county we came across five sets of brothers and sisters boarded out. Two of these families had been completely broken up and were placed out all over the county: the rest had been placed in ones and two and in some cases were keeping in touch, in others were not meeting. Occasionally one of a family was adopted and thereafter all connection with the rest was severed.

School

376. In the main the children we saw were having much the same education and advantages as other children. In only two cases did a foster mother complain that the children were singled out. In one instance the foster mother was resentful because she thought that the school teacher was "down" on Poor Law children and "picked on" them, and she had told her two foster children that they must always stick up for themselves. One child, had in her opinion, been wrongly blamed for some damage and had not been recommended for the scholarship examination on that account. The other had been backward and the teacher was said to have resented the fact that she should go into anything but domestic service. The other child, already mentioned, had been sent to a private school because of the supposed unfair attitude of the head teacher. As a general rule the foster parents took a great interest in the school progress of their children, discussed them with the teachers and took pride in their achievements and they seemed to know all about the child's relationships at school. These children had entered for scholarship examinations with the rest and a few of them were attending technical and central schools. We found in one area that when we were able to see them the school reports were most interesting and revealing and provided a valuable supplement to the rather meagre boarding out record. We came across one interesting case of an illegitimate child of a feeble-minded mother whose school reports over a number of years had noted her good intelligence and power of leadership. Very little contact between voluntary visitors and schools was found. School reports were usually sent direct to the responsible Committee.

Employment and After Care

377. We were dissatisfied with such arrangements as we found for the placing of boarded out children in employment but it must be remembered that only a small number of the children visited had reached school leaving age. Although the officials responsible were positive that help from officers of the Juvenile Employment Bureau would be sought we did not find any child who had been seen or placed by them. What actually happened (without any realisation on the part of the boarding out officials) was that the visitor and the boarding out visitor between them found the child work locally with the very laudable intention of keeping him with his foster parents. This in the case of voluntary visitors meant that local people applied to them for gardeners' boys, domestics, nursemaids, labourers and the like and the child was placed (as no doubt a great number of normal children are still placed) without any special consideration of his wishes or aptitudes. Thus in one remote village we found a boy of 14½ working as gardener's boy. He had failed in the scholarship examination but was intelligent, a keen scout and interested in woodwork. He may have been well suited to his job but it did not appear that he had been able to have any choice about it. This boy incidentally was an example of the difficulty of settling children from Homes. He had been in the county public assistance children's Home before being boarded out at the age of seven. He still remembered it as an unkind repressive place where they "often had the stick". The foster mother told our visitor that he was thin and poor when he came to them and that he wet his bed nightly for five years. When seen recently he was a well-grown lad, independent but friendly and with good manners for his age.

"Fostering"

378. Illegitimate and unwanted children are sometimes placed in foster homes by Health Visitors. Sometimes they came from the nurseries of workhouses or from residential nurseries. Some local authorities prepared

lists of suitable homes which were approved by the Health Department. In one area the local Association for Moral Welfare was grant-aided by the Public Health authority to aid in finding and inspecting foster homes on condition that trained social workers were employed. It was the general experience of Health Visitors in the areas visited that almost all the babies were actually placed with adoption in view.

379. Many mothers placing direct found excellent homes for their babies. Degenerate and sub-normal mothers usually chose homes in slum areas with poor foster mothers of low mentality from whom it was most difficult to get the child away. The homes visited by us were at both ends of the scale of possibilities: in the lowest the foster mother had just contrived to meet the bare conditions qualifying them to receive the child for reward. In assessing these conditions it was plain that great latitude had been allowed although the home was often as good as the child's own home. Babies were seen in attics where owing to bomb damage wet dropped in: they were found living at the back of derelict shops which were entered by means of a wooden ladder and they were seen playing in garbage heaps amongst dust bins, old tin cans and dirty milk bottles. Many of the children wore cast-off clothes or clothes given by the kindness of the Health Visitor who had obtained them privately. In the case of fostered children there is no fixed allowance either for maintenance or clothes as in the case of boarded out children: the mother makes her own arrangements with the foster mother.

380. In some cases the foster fathers were interviewed. Some had taken great interest in the children. One, a railway porter, had given up smoking in order to spend money on the child whose mother had deserted it. In all areas the Health Visitors encouraged foster mothers to use infant welfare clinics.

Health Visitors.

381. We met and talked with Health Visitors of all degrees of experience. Health Visitors were allowed a good deal of freedom in the choice of homes; some encouraging fostering in the same type of street as the child's own mother lived in and others insisting on a placing on the outskirts of a city in order to obtain space and gardens. All were anxious about the fate of the child taken without reward and recommended that such placings should be notified to the authorities.

BY VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES

Kind of Home

382. We investigated a certain number of placings by the large voluntary societies which place children for boarding out as well as providing Home care. We did not find any important differences in the foster homes selected by voluntary societies or in the reasons for taking the child or the rates paid for them and the conditions required. On the whole the clothing allowances paid by the voluntary organisations seemed lower than those paid by local authorities. In some cases children who had been evacuated to homes of less good standard, before they had been taken over by the voluntary organisation had remained in them, because of the affection between the child and the foster parents.

Type of Child

383. As in the case of the children placed by local authorities many of the children placed by the voluntary organisations had suffered distressing experiences before their placing. Some of them had proved very difficult to handle at first and most had had difficulties such as pilfering and bed wetting. We saw some cases in which the organisation had been successful

in placing coloured children. We were impressed by the value of having available a small home or hostel for children who proved too difficult for a foster mother to handle. We saw one such Home used by a large voluntary organisation in which children who had serious difficulties seemed to be thriving.

Removal at Fourteen.

384. One large organisation, some of whose children were visited, made a practice of removing foster children from their foster families at the age of fourteen and admitting them to Homes for training. This was found to have caused considerable resentment. To make removal a general rule seemed to us to take away one of its chief values from the foster home at a time when the child might particularly need continuity in his relationships. At one home from which a boy of fourteen had been removed after many years the foster father said "It seems just like Nazi methods." These same foster parents, who had suffered twice from the removal of children to whom they had become closely attached, were at first apprehensive lest the visitor should have come to remove the two little boys to whom they seemed to be giving excellent care. Another foster mother whose fourteen-year-old girl had been taken into a Home for domestic training protested so bitterly that she was finally allowed to return and was working in a factory at the time of our visit. We were glad to hear that this general rule was now being reconsidered.

Case Histories

385. Many foster parents complained about the very small amount of information which they received about the children from the organisation responsible. One little boy given to rages of a most difficult character had had a large cut across his head. His foster mother wondered whether this injury might account for the trouble as she had been told nothing about him. In some cases the foster mothers suggested that the visitors did not know the children's histories either, but it may have been the policy of the organisation not to disclose the facts.

Visitors

386. In most instances the visitors appeared to be exceedingly helpful and accustomed to visit very frequently, in one district as often as once a month. In a few homes we found criticism of infrequent visiting. As a rule the foster mothers welcomed supervision and would have found it even more helpful if the visitor could have told them more. On one or two cases, the withholding of information had led to a lack of confidence between foster mother and visitor and foster mother and organisation.

BY THE MINISTRY OF PENSIONS

387. In a few areas we were able to visit children for whom the Ministry of Pensions is responsible and to meet some of the officers responsible for visiting the children. The children fall into three groups, as follows:

(1) Children "under care" for whom the Ministry is entirely responsible because they are total orphans or children of mothers not capable of giving them proper care. These children are placed with foster parents and are required to be visited every two months or more often.

(2) Children who are cared for by relatives but for whom the Ministry pays a pension. They should be visited every three months.

(3) Children in the care of their mothers who are widowed. These children are not ordinarily visited but may be placed under supervision if adverse accounts are received about their care.

Visitors

388. None of the visitors we met held a recognised qualification for social work though we understood that some trained social workers were employed. Students receive a training at Headquarters in the theory of the work and spend some time with visitors working in the field before they are appointed as visitors in their turn. The work is organised from a district office with reference to Headquarters when difficulties arise. In one rural area we found that the visitors had about 125 cases of whom about a fifth were "under care" and shared the assistance of one student. No cars were provided and it was obvious that a great deal of time which might have been available for skilled work was wasted in travel.

Finding Foster Homes

389. We found that very great care was taken to check the reputation of the family. Three references were asked for and the names given were usually those of persons of standing in the community. Wherever possible a personal interview with the referee took place. A register of foster homes is kept and reports on the home are filed in it. The placement is notified to the Child Life Protection department if the child is under 9 and to the Education department if the child is under school leaving age. Generally speaking the visiting is left to the Ministry of Pensions visitor by arrangement unless advice about health is needed. Visits are made to the school to discuss progress.

390. A routine medical examination is made when the child who is a total orphan comes into the care of the Ministry. Afterwards the school medical examination is relied upon for routine purposes and the foster-mother is asked to call in her own doctor where necessary. Several health difficulties were mentioned to our visitors and it was found that special arrangements had been made for examination and treatment in these cases. Arrangements had been made for the county psychiatrist to see a boy who had been stealing and later the boy was transferred from the foster home to a Hostel for maladjusted children. In one or two specially difficult cases we were doubtful whether the advice given to foster parents who were troubled by the difficult behaviour of the children was as helpful as it might have been.

Rates of Payment

391. There is a flat rate of 13s. 6d. for each child in the care of the Ministry and this is supplemented where necessary by special payment to meet particular needs. A clothing allowance is usually paid in addition, the actual amount varying according to age. i.e.,

Under 5 years, initial payment	...	...	...	£6	}	Annual
5-10 years, initial payment	...	...	...	£8		Payment
Over 10 years, initial payment	...	...	...	£10		£4 6s. 8d.

In some cases, where it was thought that the foster-mother might not be wise in her choice, the visitor chose the clothes. It was interesting that both the amount paid for maintenance and the amount for clothing was considerably less than the higher rates paid by local authorities and voluntary organisations and no allowance appeared to be made for pocket money. It must, however, be remembered that special payments were paid for any out of the ordinary expenses and the child takes to the foster-home a good outfit "three of everything" we were told. In several cases foster mothers pointed out that the payment did not really meet what was spent on the children. They were not discontented and while they would have welcomed a larger allowance they had sometimes failed to make a special claim when a special need occurred.

392. The Ministry is very generous about the giving of presents and we often heard of very attractive gifts being sent individually to each child for birthday and Christmas, a personal touch that we did not meet in the case of other boarded-out children. The foster parents were often very generous about presents and about pocket money and treats.

The Foster Homes

393. The foster homes selected for Pensions children were of very much the same standard as those noted in the case of placements by local authority or voluntary organisations. The foster fathers were as a rule skilled or semi-skilled labourers or artisans. They showed a true parental interest in the children and were prepared to share with them all the benefits of home life. The children had rooms to themselves: there was nearly always a garden to play in, and pets. In a few instances we found homes where there was only a small margin on weekly earnings and the foster parents were not finding it easy to manage on the rather low weekly allowance and had thankfully accepted gifts of clothing from other sources than the Ministry. The foster parents gave a warm welcome to the visitors and took an equal share in discussions of the children. We particularly noticed that in several cases the foster parent had tried to give the child when backward extra help with homework and the like. It was more usual to find that members of the same family had been provided for in the same foster home and it was evident that a great deal of trouble had been taken over this. In one home there were three children aged three, five and six. The foster parents talked of the children as if they expected a permanent home to be made with them.

Supervision

394. It was evident that the visitors were liked and welcomed by the foster parents who would have liked to have seen them more often than they did. In one or two homes in the rural area already referred to we were told that the "visitors are so pleased with us that they don't visit often" and that visits were infrequent unless the child was ill or a special visit was asked for. As a general rule the contact was good and the foster mothers were well aware how they could reach their visitor if they wished to do so. It was clear also that they were accustomed to talk freely to their visitor and to seek her advice about any matters which worried them.

Records

395. The office records which we saw in one area were methodically kept but not very well arranged from the standpoint of modern methods. The reports on visits were interleaved with correspondence, bills and receipts. Although brief notes were kept of all action taken it would have been difficult for a substitute worker in emergency to pick out the main information. Some of the reports showed a good understanding of the importance of personal relationships.

396. We were told that the visitor was not always sufficiently informed about the previous history of a child transferred from another area. One boy of 12 whom we saw had had a history of stealing since the age of 6 but the visitor was not in possession of the facts when she placed him. The general policy seemed to be to tell the foster mother as little as possible. Sometimes they felt that they ought to know more and for want of more were apt to over-emphasise and over-dramatise what the children told them. The confidence between the visitor and the foster parent was usually so happy that there should have been no difficulty in giving any essential information in those instances in which the foster mother's help was specially needed.

INSPECTION

397. In all our visits to institutions, Homes and boarded out children we have noted as far as we could the quality and frequency of the inspection provided by the central departments. When it has been possible to do so we have checked our own impression with the reports made to the central department and have compared reports made of the same establishment at different periods.

Workhouses (Ministry of Health)

398. In the institutions in which we compared our impressions with the reports made by inspectors over a period of time we were impressed by the fact that although the reports were mainly critical of the same things about which we ourselves were critical, there seemed to have been very little remedy of the defects, though representations had been made to those who were responsible over a period of as long as fourteen years. It became evident too that, in spite of the failure to remedy conditions which seemed seriously damaging to the children involved, it was possible for a gap of many years to take place in the inspections, extending in one instance from several years before the war up to the year of our visit.

399. It was found that adverse reports had been made by inspectors on one nursery since August, 1931. Comments were made then that the children were unsuitably accommodated, apparently because there were nine children over the age of three in an institution not approved for their care. In 1932 a serious outbreak of ringworm had not been notified to the County Medical Officer, and the Ministry of Health communicated with him. In 1934 the presence of mentally defective children in the institution was severely criticised, as also was the fact that a boy of nine was sleeping in the men's ward. At this time the report said "The whole place seemed to me to need improvement and re-organisation." A letter was written to the Clerk of the County Council, who promised in a letter dated 8th April, 1935, that normal children of over the age of three would be removed from the institution, and that an effort would be made to transfer the mentally defective children elsewhere. The position however does not seem to have been changed in the next three years, a report in 1938 stating that the care of the children was unsatisfactory. After this entry there appears to have been a gap of six years in the inspection of the Ministry of Health, although the Board of Control had visited the adult defectives. A full report was made by a Ministry of Health inspector in February, 1945, when there were twenty-eight children present. The only criticism relating to the personal care of the children on this visit was the presence with healthy young children of an eight year old blind imbecile boy, who made hideous noises by day and night and could not be kept clothed —presumably the same boy who was still present in June, 1945, when we visited. The presence for long periods of healthy children of over the age of three in workhouses and in nurseries attached to workhouses, which was against the regulations, was strongly criticised by inspectors, but we found no evidence that their criticisms had been effective. The criticisms of inspectors on the nursery described in paragraph 144 had effected no improvement at all, although the children were removed to another nursery within two months of our visit.

Public Assistance Children's Homes (Ministry of Health)

400. The intervals between inspections of children's Homes under the local authorities had varied from 4 months to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years: visits had been more frequent in the last few years. As in the case of workhouses we found that the inspectors had made most of the criticisms which we ourselves made though generally speaking they seemed much less concerned than we were

by the overcrowding, the lack of space for play and the lack of play material (a deficiency seldom mentioned) and of the bare uncomfortable appearance of the children's living rooms. It was clear that reports, even when followed by correspondence, had only to a very limited extent been effective in bringing about improvements in conditions acknowledged to be detrimental to the children. There appeared to be more consciousness of the needs of children in some recent reports by women inspectors but as these were made in wartime when material and equipment were scarce the reports were not much more effective than the earlier ones had been. On the whole the Superintendents and Matrons looked forward to visits from Inspectors and found the advice helpful.

401. We came across one institution which, like a few other Institutions taken over by the Public Health Department, was not subject to inspection at all after its transfer from the Public Assistance Authority to the Public Health Authority. There were ninety-six children in this institution, whose ages varied from under a year to fifteen years.

Voluntary Homes

402. It was perhaps hardly surprising that many of the voluntary organisations were in some doubt about the functions of the inspectors who visited their Homes and the reasons for the inspection. Some, for one reason or another, received so many inspectors that one more or less made no difference. The present dividing line between inspections by the Home Office and Ministry of Health is a movable one. If a Home in receipt of voluntary contributions ceases to be certified for Poor Law cases or happens, if un-certified, to have no child under the Poor Law living there, the inspection reverts to the Home Office. This is very puzzling to the staff. Homes which have machinery in their workrooms, or which have internal schools, or which have become approved schools or hospital schools, may be inspected by the Factory Inspectors of the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Education, the Home Office, the Ministry of Health or (if receiving a Pensions child) the Ministry of Pensions. Some Homes were also inspected by the inspectors of the local authority. We were not satisfied with the frequency of inspection by the Factory Inspectorate of the Ministry of Labour of laundries in voluntary Homes. Some of the Homes seemed to be unaware that they were subject to such inspection. We saw some arrangements which caused us disquiet.

403. We found however that the main bulk of voluntary Homes are inspected by the Home Office or the Ministry of Health. In many cases these inspections had taken place at long intervals and sometimes had little integral relationship with the life and work of the Homes visited. Staff were often very vague about the department responsible for inspection and attached little significance to the visits made. We did however hear of some Homes which were backward in their views and reluctant to alter their regime but which the Inspectors by tact and perseverance had succeeded in persuading to adopt more modern ideas. A small group of endowed Homes not receiving voluntary subscriptions or catering for children under the Poor Law escaped inspection altogether except as regards their school where they had internal schools. In one of these, although acting in an advisory capacity only, the Home Office inspectors had done a good deal to bring a more liberal view to the training and upbringing of the children.

Approved Schools (Home Office)

404. Home Office inspection seemed to have been carried out at least at yearly intervals at approved schools, although we visited one school in which there had been a gap of fourteen months before we called. In some

instances, no doubt for special reasons, there had been much more frequent visits. For example, in a newly established girls' school, of which we had the inspector's reports, there had been five visits from general and medical inspectors during a period of eighteen months. We were very well impressed with the thoroughness of the reports. They showed good discernment about the staff difficulties, a lively individual interest in the girls, and good sense about the practical needs of the school. During this period in which the school was becoming established there was reference in the inspector's reports to the following subjects: general and specialised medical care (also discussed with the doctors concerned); water supply; food allowances and sweet ration; domestic help; building alterations and furnishing; the provision of further cultural classes; technical instruction in gardening and cooking; arrangements for home leave for the girls; staff qualifications; methods of punishment. We came across no instance of any resentment of inspection; indeed the relations between the senior members of the staff and the inspectors seemed a very happy one. In one girls' school which had been through very troubled times the Headmistress referred to the inspector as being "a great friend".

405. While the Ministry of Education takes some part of the inspection of the education work in approved schools the day to day responsibility rests with the Home Office. The arrangement by which the Ministry of Education advises and assists appeared to have been suspended during the war. One Junior Girls' School carrying on its own education had had no visit from the Ministry of Education in three and a half years. Another School for Senior Boys had not to the knowledge of the present headmaster had any educational inspection.

406. Inspection by the Factory Inspectors of the Ministry of Labour of machine workshops appears to be infrequent. One school had had no inspection from the Factory Inspectors and at another school there had been a gap of three years in this inspection before a recent visit.

Remand Homes (Home Office)

407. As far as we could judge the remand homes had been kept under reasonably careful vigilance by the Home Office although we were sorry to see only annual visits to one home which was in great difficulties. Improvement did not, however, appear to be very effectively brought about in the case of negligent local authorities or Committees of Management. Thus at a home, with which we were not altogether satisfied, the Home Office inspectors' reports showed clearly the extremely critical view they had held since 1940 of the remand provision for boys made by the local authority. Our visit satisfied us that some improvement had been effected but slowly and only in part. The long periods of stay due to difficulty in boarding out "fit person" cases, in finding accommodation for mentally defective boys, and in getting transfer to approved schools seem to have been causes of frequent comment in the 6-9 monthly inspectors' reports extending over a period of five years. It is worth noting that inspectors' visits were more frequent during the period in which the staffing of this Home was unsatisfactory. In another case, however, the head of a remand home thought he should have had more frequent visits from the Inspector while his Home was still in its initial stages. Of the few reports we read we noticed one which expressed concern about the long period of stay, including children who should have been boarded out by the local authority. The Inspector had urged the need for action upon the local authority departments responsible.

Hostels for Working Boys and Girls and Probation Hostels (Home Office)

408. We did not come across much evidence of inspection except at Probation Hostels which are inspected by the Home Office. The contact with inspectors was much more frequent in the case of girls' Hostels which were visited at six or nine monthly intervals than in the case of boys' Hostels which were visited annually or less frequently. We noticed several instances in which Inspectors had commented on the type of work selected and some in which advice had been given on the handling of difficult young people.

Institutions for Children suffering from Mental Illness or Mental Defect

409. All these institutions are under the inspection of the Board of Control. They must by statute be visited annually, and visits have been carried out regularly, sometimes more frequently than at the statutory intervals. In one institution two days had been spent by the Inspector on the occasion of her last visit. A Commissioner and Inspector sometimes visit together. Medical institutions are also visited by members of the local authority Mental Deficiency Committee, and in some instances by the local justices.

410. We were told of visits by the Ministry of Education in only one institution with a special school, though there may have been visits in some other institutions. We were told by one Medical Superintendent that no-one came from the Ministry of Education unless he made a special request for an inspection.

Hospitals and Homes for Physically Handicapped Children

411. At the one hospital in which inquiry was made, inspection of the educational arrangements for the children was made by the Ministry of Education medical inspector who had visited regularly before the war. She used to arrive without notice and spend a whole day at the hospital. Inspections were sometimes carried out by the local authority. The deaf and dumb Homes were inspected as special schools by the Ministry of Education at long intervals. The Home for blind babies was regularly visited by Child Protection Visitors of the local authorities, and the crippled Homes by the Ministry of Education. On the little information which we had we formed the impression that no great interest is at present shown by the government departments in these children and that much greater help might be given in the special difficulties which all these Homes for handicapped children must meet.

Boarding Out

412. Boarding out by the Public Assistance authorities is under the inspection of the Ministry of Health, whose inspectors also interest themselves in the Child Life Protection service although they are not empowered to enter the foster Homes supervised by the Public Health authority. Boarding out by Education departments acting as "fit persons" is the responsibility of the Home Office which has powers to enter foster homes. We did not gain the impression that much home visiting was being done by government departments and we regretted this because we found from our own experience that while it was quite possible for an authority to think that arrangements were satisfactory (as for instance in the matter of employment (see para. 377)) only visits to the children would show what was actually done.

413. There was a good deal of evidence that inspectors kept in close contact with local authority officials and advised generally on standards both in selection of foster parents and in selection of visitors. Both departments were exercising considerable pressure through their inspectors to secure

the appointment of trained salaried visitors. Inspectors of both departments took up special cases from time to time. In the case of children to whom the authority was acting as "fit person" difficult cases more frequently came under review because of the necessity for seeking permission for special institutional treatment instead of boarding out. We were not satisfied in all cases that permission had been sought for the use of voluntary children's Homes and in one or two discussions with local authorities which were antagonistic to boarding out we thought it likely that the inspectors did not hear of those children who had been placed in Homes.

414. There are a few general considerations in regard to inspection to which we should draw attention:—

- (1) Neither before the war, nor more understandably during the war, has the frequency of inspection been adequate to maintain a real check on standards. Our inquiries showed Homes and other Institutions which had been left unvisited for as long as six years, while an interval of three years was quite usual. Recently the central departments had made efforts to visit more often and we understood that in some cases visits were being made at least once a year. Examples of more frequent inspection were the Home Office approved schools, remand homes, establishments under the Board of Control and nurseries administered by Public Assistance authorities. At the other end of the scale educational inspectors of the Ministry of Education in some cases, had never visited hospital schools in which children were being taught and rarely visited some other schools within institutions.
- (2) We were impressed by the fact that although in many cases the inspectors' reports over a period of many years showed that there was then in existence the same kind of bad conditions as were apparent at our visit, the action on the report was ineffective because nothing was done locally to improve the conditions. In some cases it was clear that the inspector had made on the spot, and the department had later supported in writing, proposals for improvement (even essential proposals) which were not adopted or in some cases even considered. In other cases we felt that there was a failure to take up from the centre complaints which had been made by the inspector and that this failure might lead the officials on the spot to think that no great concern was felt.
- (3) We noticed in some cases recent improvement in the quality of the reports on Children's Homes which we attributed to the increased employment of women inspectors for this work.
- (4) We were concerned about what appeared to be acceptance of a low standard from time to time by some Ministries on the ground that there was no alternative accommodation available. We thought that this attitude was unlikely to stimulate local authorities to provide suitable accommodation.
- (5) We found no evidence that there was resentment about the visits of inspectors. In the main, they appeared to be welcomed and in one or two places there was a feeling of misgiving because no visit had been made for some time. In some types of Homes and schools the inspectors were regarded as friends who were able to give valuable advice and who could often provide a solution on a practical plane.

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

415. We now offer a summary of the general impressions made upon us by witnesses, and by our own survey, with regard to the existing provision made for children deprived of a normal home life. In the first place we are

far from satisfied with the immediate provision made for children coming as destitute or in need of care or protection into the care of local authorities. Some authorities indeed receive the children into establishments for temporary care where they can be studied, cleansed and cared for in an adequate and kindly way until they are placed in whatever their permanent substitute home may be but in far too many areas the child is put into a workhouse ward where there is nothing but the barest provision for his physical needs and where the staff have neither the capacity nor the time to relieve his fears, make him feel at ease or give him occupation or interest. What is more, he may remain in such unsatisfactory conditions, temporary though they are supposed to be, not only for weeks, but for months, before something better is found for him.

416. Turning to the long-term provision, it is evident that more kindly imagination, as well as more scientific thought, has gone into the arrangement and equipment of nurseries than into any other form of care for the healthy child, though a great deal remains to be done in the way of precautions which medical opinion thinks necessary for infants congregated together. Nursery schools, though as yet by no means fully developed, on the whole carry on in the same spirit, and it is evident that their extension will bring brightness and constructive occupation into the lives of the small children in public care. The provision for the older children, in Homes or boarded out, is generally speaking on a lower level both of aim and of achievement. Both these types of provision have recently caused public anxiety—the first because of assertions as to their out of date, harsh or repressive methods, the second because of actual disasters to children so provided for. We think the anxiety was justified, even though the general position is by no means so bad as particular incidents and statements might suggest. We have seen much that is good, and highly creditable to those responsible; but we have also seen much that calls for reform.

417. It is right to say in the first place, as regards Homes for children, that very little evidence, written or oral, has been tendered to us that there are seriously bad conditions in existing Homes in the sense of conditions involving neglect or harsh usage. Some witnesses have come forward to describe to us their own upbringing as inmates of Homes, and in a few instances the picture drawn was a very dark one. Even allowing for some bias and exaggeration, the treatment of these particular children had clearly not been happy or successful. It must be remarked however that the evidence related to a period of ten or more years ago and that there has been much improvement since then in methods of discipline and other conditions. The whole attitude of society to the treatment of children has been moving towards a gentler and more sympathetic approach, and we had it in evidence from a very experienced inspector that children's Homes and persons responsible for the care of the unfortunate child have shared in this development. We heard moreover other witnesses brought up in institutions who gave evidence of a different purport, even as regards the same period or earlier, and evidently regarded themselves as having been by no means unfortunate in their childhood's experiences. We ourselves have seen excellently conducted Homes run by organisations which have been attacked. We do not therefore feel justified, so far as evidence of this character is concerned, in forming conclusions adverse to the general administration of child care in any organisation or group of institutions. The witnesses in question did however bring home to us the danger, even in an organisation or under an authority with an enlightened policy, that individuals in charge of groups of children may develop harsh or repressive tendencies or false ideas of discipline, and that

the children in their care may suffer without the knowledge of the central authority. A code of rules which sets a proper standard is one necessity but it is plain that no code will suffice without regular inspection and constant watchfulness that the right atmosphere of kindness and sympathy is maintained.

418. Our own survey has given us a firmer basis for conclusions about actual present day conditions. It will be apparent from this Section of our Report that we have seen examples of almost all levels of child care, some very good, some indubitably bad. By far the greater number of Homes were, within the limits of their staffing, accommodation and administrative arrangements, reasonably well run from the standpoint of physical care, and in other ways the child has more material advantages than could have been given to him in the average poor family. Where establishments fell below a satisfactory standard, the defects were not of harshness, but rather of dirt and dreariness, drabness and over-regimentation. We found no child being cruelly used in the ordinary sense, but that was perhaps not a probable discovery on a casual visit. We did find many establishments under both local authority and voluntary management in which children were being brought up by unimaginative methods, without opportunity for developing their full capabilities and with very little brightness or interest in their surroundings. We found in fact many places where the standard of child care was no better, except in respect of disciplinary methods, than that of say 30 years ago; and we found a widespread and deplorable shortage of the right kind of staff, personally qualified and trained to provide the child with a substitute for a home background. The result in many Homes was a lack of personal interest in and affection for the children which we found shocking. The child in these Homes was not recognised as an individual with his own rights and possessions, his own life to live and his own contribution to offer. He was merely one of a large crowd, eating, playing and sleeping with the rest, without any place or possession of his own or any quiet room to which he could retreat. Still more important, he was without the feeling that there was anyone to whom he could turn who was vitally interested in his welfare or who cared for him as a person. The effect of this on the smaller children was reflected in their behaviour towards visitors, which took the form of an almost pathological clamouring for attention and petting. In the older children the effect appeared more in slowness, backwardness and lack of response, and in habits of destructiveness and want of concentration. Where individual love and care had been given, the behaviour of the children was quite different. They showed no undue interest in visitors and were easily and happily engaged in their own occupations and games.

419. Apart from the absence in many Homes of this essential element in a child's wellbeing, we have found much to criticise in accommodation, equipment and staffing. Even when full allowance is made for wartime shortages and difficulties, it is evident that in many places a higher standard needs to be set. The difference between the results achieved in what would appear to be precisely parallel conditions is often startling. Where a community is successful its success may be accounted for in one of several ways. Enlightened central direction can do much, as is apparent in the approved schools and the best of the voluntary Homes. Good local administration and the interest and support of a competent local committee can do perhaps even more. Full collaboration between the central authority and the local administration is of great importance. We noticed all these factors at one time or another as affecting the quality of a Home. But outstanding among the comments on our visits are references to the good or poor Superintendent, Matron, House mother or other member of the staff in immediate charge of

the children. On the personality and skill of these workers depends primarily the happiness of the children in their care. We have seen much admirable and devoted work by people putting their whole heart and energy into this task, sometimes in very unhelpful conditions. But such workers are too few to handle the work to be done, and some of them have had too little preparation for a very difficult task. On the whole, as we indicated in our Interim Report, this task has not been regarded as one calling for any special skill, and many of the children have suffered in consequence.

420. When we turn to boarding out, we meet a different set of inadequacies and dangers. We found in the children in the foster homes we visited almost complete freedom from the sense of deprivation which we have described among the children in Homes. Indeed the foster homes as a whole made a remarkably favourable impression. While there were some which on one ground or another we did not consider suitable places for the care of a child, there were few in which the child was not a member of the household, or did not appear to be finding affection and happiness. In some cases indeed the fostermother had become too possessive for the relation to be altogether satisfactory. The faults of foster homes are different from those of large communities and very difficult to diagnose at a casual visit. They depend on the attitude of the fosterparents to the child and the accidents of fortune in the home, and a crisis may occur which could not be anticipated from a single inspection.

421. What impressed us with regard to boarding out was the need for a greater sense of personal interest and responsibility at local authority headquarters, and for more specialist staff there; and for more trained supervisors to visit the children. There is no doubt that the O'Neill case had put authorities on their guard against slackness in administration; and we thought that the individuals in charge of boarding out in the authorities' offices were doing their best, though sometimes in a rather remote and impersonal way, to serve the interests of the children. But the present administrative system seems to us full of pitfalls. Divided responsibility, office delays, misunderstandings and misjudgments of people, irregular visiting and failure to visit promptly in emergency, may easily under present conditions facilitate a tragedy, as they have done in the past. It was moreover clear to us that it was very rare for an authority to feel that it had a choice among a number of thoroughly satisfactory foster homes, though whether more homes would have been available if a greater effort had been made to find them is not so certain. One of the counties in which we saw the most satisfactory foster homes had been able to board out only about a third of the children in the care of the council.

422. On the whole our judgment is that there is probably a greater risk of acute unhappiness in a foster home, but that a happy foster home is happier than life as generally lived in a large community. Our proposals for improving the quality of both types of substitute home will be found in the next Section of our Report.

SECTION III

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

423. It will be sufficiently apparent from the earlier sections of our Report that the problem of providing for children deprived of a normal home life has not hitherto been dealt with as a single one, and that a large part of our task is to devise means of simplifying and unifying the exercise of public responsibility. First, however, we propose to consider whether that responsibility covers a wide enough field, or whether there are groups of children needing public care and supervision who are at present outside it; and whether also the relation between child and public authority is in all cases sufficiently close to secure the child's protection.

SCOPE OF PUBLIC CARE

424. The following groups have come under our notice as needing supervision as much as other groups which are already within the range of public care:

- (i) Children over 9 years of age who have been taken under care by foster parents for reward.

The upper limit of 9 years for the child life protection service (see above paras. 70-76) is in effect arbitrary and we see no good reason for maintaining it. It is obviously unsatisfactory that there is nothing to prevent a child over 9 being placed in a home from which a child under 9 has been removed because the home is unsuitable. Nor is there in our view any ground for the relaxation of public care at so early an age as 9. The service began as an *infant* life protection service and the age limit, originally 5, was raised to 7 years in 1908 and to 9 by the Children and Young Persons Act, 1932, following on the recommendations of the Tomlin Committee on Child Adoption. We desire to see the age limit for the child life protection service raised to 16 years so that the child may be under supervision until he has left school. A large proportion of our witnesses have pressed for this extension.

- (ii) Children taken into care by foster parents without reward, whether with a view to adoption or not.

We have had a good deal of evidence that illegitimate children are handed over at birth to women who are willing to take them without payment, and unless there is a subsequent application to adopt, no inquiry is made by any public authority into the character of the home or the foster parents. If reward were received the foster parents would be obliged to notify the proposed reception of the child (if under 9 years of age) to the welfare authority and the home would be inspected by the child protection visitor. This appears to us to be equally necessary where there is no reward, except in the case of near relatives or where the child is received for a temporary purpose only, and we recommend that the service be extended accordingly. The Ministry of Health has already, in 1943, drawn the attention of welfare authorities to the problems arising under war conditions in regard to illegitimate children, and has asked them to submit schemes for co-operating with voluntary agencies in the supervision of the children by trained social workers. Our proposal goes further, and would ensure that the individual child's welfare would be the responsibility of the authority equally with that of fostered children taken for reward. There is another large class of children cared for by foster parents which deserves

special mention, viz. orphans in respect of whom orphans' pensions are payable and fatherless children in respect of whom allowances are payable to persons other than the mothers, under the Widows Orphans and Old Age Contributory Pensions Acts. The Minister of National Insurance is responsible under the Acts for payment to the "guardian or other person having charge of the child", but has no powers of supervision or control directed to the general welfare of the child. Having arranged for the payment of the pension or allowance in the first instance to a suitable recipient, the Ministry is not further concerned unless the recipient dies or becomes disqualified, or unless representations are made by a local authority or otherwise that it would be in the child's interest for the payments to be made to some other person. So far as we can discover it has never been established that the receipt of a pension or allowance in respect of a child constitutes "reward" within the meaning of Section 206 of the Public Health Act, 1936, and we have been advised that this would be a question for the decision of the Court in each individual case. These children therefore normally escape the supervision of the child life protection service. The new National Insurance Act which became law while our Report was in draft provides for the payment of a "guardian's allowance" of 12s. a week to a person who has an orphan child in his family, but under that Act also the Minister will have no powers of supervision and control directed to the general welfare of the child. It has been urged on us with some force that civil orphans should receive from some authority the same oversight that war orphans receive from the Ministry of Pensions. Our recommendation will bring them, with the exceptions mentioned, within the scope of the child life protection service, and the local authority will have the duty of supervision. We recommend that in all cases where the payment of a child's pension is made to a person other than the mother, a close relative or the legal guardian, the Ministry of National Insurance should be required to notify the local authority. Children placed for adoption, other than those under 9 placed with the participation of a third party, are not at present covered by public supervision. We recommend that such supervision be extended to cover those of all ages, however placed.

(iii) Children in voluntary Homes not now inspected by any public department.

As we mentioned above in paragraph 69 voluntary Homes not registered with the Home Office escape inspection unless for some particular reason they are inspected by another Department. We have made careful enquiry as to the number of such Homes, but for obvious reasons it is impossible to obtain precise information. Our official witnesses, however, assure us that the problem is of very small dimensions, since most Homes either solicit subscriptions from the public or are of sufficiently good reputation to be used by public authorities with the consent of the Ministry of Health for placing Poor Law children. We recommend that all homes taking full custody of children should be registered and inspected by the central department.

425. As regards the degree of responsibility taken by the State or other public authority, we are not satisfied that this is sufficient in the following circumstances:

(i) Children found by a Juvenile Court to be in need of care or protection.

These at present need not be accepted by the local authority to which the Court desires to commit them. We recommend that where

a Court decides that the rights and duties of a parent should be transferred to another "person" and that the local authority is the right "person" to assume those rights and duties, they should be imposed on the authority without opportunity of refusal.

(ii) *Orphans and children deserted by their parents.*

We consider that every orphan or deserted child coming within the range of public care should have a legal guardian to take the major decisions in his life and to feel full responsibility for his welfare. Apart from the cases where the Court commits a child to a local authority as a "fit person", those in which the authority are managers of an approved school to which the child is committed and those in which the authority assumes guardianship under the Poor Law Act, 1930, of a child maintained by it, there is no relation of legal guardianship between the authority and the child. We do not suggest that in every case the authority is the proper guardian, but we consider that the authority should be responsible for raising the question of guardianship in the cases where it takes responsibility for the child's welfare which, if our recommendations are approved, will be far more numerous than at present; and that failing a suitable relative, for whom inquiry should be made, or the Head of an approved voluntary Home which has the child under care, the authority itself should apply for appointment as guardian. The legal procedure by which guardians can be appointed appears to us to need revision. We do not favour the assumption of parental rights by a local authority under Section 52 of the Poor Law Act, 1930, by mere resolution, without an initial application to a Court. We think it objectionable (even though in practice the Section may have worked satisfactorily or at any rate without criticism) that the rights of a parent or other guardian should be extinguished by a mere resolution of a Council. Even if extra publicity and work were involved in court proceedings, we are of opinion that they would be more than counterbalanced by the value of an impartial and detached judicial inquiry at the outset directed to the paramount welfare of the child. We understand that at present no statutory provisions exist in the Guardianship of Infants Acts, 1886 and 1925, or elsewhere which confer on any Court the power to appoint a legal guardian (as opposed to making a custody order in certain cases) where a child is already without a natural or testamentary guardian; and that in such a case the only resort is to the inherent jurisdiction of the Chancery Division of the High Court. For reasons of expense and distance this is not practicable in regard to the children with whom we are concerned, or their relatives. We recommend that the statutory jurisdiction to appoint guardians should be extended (a) so as to enable a legal guardian to be appointed by a Court not merely where another is being removed or superseded under Section 6 of the Guardianship of Infants Act, 1925, but also where a child has no natural or testamentary guardian at all; (b) so as to ensure that this extended statutory jurisdiction is exercisable by County Courts and Magistrates (Juvenile) Courts as well as by the High Court. If this simple procedure were available it might often make possible a stable relation short of adoption between a good foster parent and a child. The protection of the child against resumption of parental rights by undesirable parents would also be easier than under the Custody of Children Act, 1891.

426. The necessary statistical material is not available for an estimate of the number of children which our recommendations would add to the total shown on p. 27 to be within the scope of public care, but we should suppose that the new total would be between 150,000 and 200,000.

THE SUBSTITUTE HOME

427. The need of the deprived child is for a home or a good substitute for a home, and it is to the question of the quality of the homes now provided and the possibility of improving on them that we have addressed ourselves. If the substitute home is to give the child what he gets from a good normal home it must supply—

- (i) Affection and personal interest; understanding of his defects; care for his future; respect for his personality and regard for his self esteem.
- (ii) Stability; the feeling that he can expect to remain with those who will continue to care for him till he goes out into the world on his own feet.
- (iii) Opportunity of making the best of his ability and aptitudes, whatever they may be, as such opportunity is made available to the child in the normal home.
- (iv) A share in the common life of a small group of people in a homely environment.

Some at least of these needs are supplied by the child's own home even if it is not in all respects a good one; it is a very serious responsibility to make provision for him to be brought up elsewhere without assurance that they can be supplied by the environment to which he is removed.

428. Section II of our Report makes it clear that we are by no means satisfied with the way in which the responsibility for finding the child a substitute home is at present discharged. Much good work is being done, but the standard is so variable and at the lower level so poor, that a determined effort must be made to lift the whole treatment of the child without a home on to a new, more even, and higher level. We see no reason to regard this as an insuperable or even a very difficult task and we are glad to record a very large extent of unanimity among our witnesses—local authorities, representatives of various organisations and private individuals—as to the principal measures necessary. Where there is failure, it is due in the main to faults of administration and imperfect selection and training of staff. Our remedies, which we are confident will deal with the situation, lie, therefore, mainly in the sphere of administration and personnel.

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY

429. The present distribution of responsibility among Government Departments first calls for attention. So far as the normal healthy child is concerned it does not as a whole bear any obvious relation to the primary functions of the Departments, and it is an easy target for criticism. The evidence is that in practice it is regarded by local authorities and voluntary organisations as confusing and tending to imperfect administration. It is obvious that there is much scope for inconsistency of treatment. An outstanding example of this is that the Ministry of Health and the Home Office have both issued boarding out rules which have the force of law, one set under the Poor Law Act, 1930, and the other under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, but that the provisions of these have not hitherto been identical.* The evidence in the O'Neill case† indicated the danger that where the rules differed the lower standard of the two would be adopted for working purposes. There is the further difficulty that different statutory committees of the local authority concerned (generally the county council or the county borough

* The rules are now we understand being assimilated.

† See Cmd. 6636.

council, but in some cases the smaller authorities designated as welfare authorities) may be handling independently almost precisely similar problems. One of the committees is the Education Committee, which primarily works with a government department other than that responsible for administering the particular Act concerned. Not only this committee and the Public Assistance Committee, but the voluntary organisations may be competing in a particular neighbourhood for suitable homes for boarding out children. A woman with two foster children may for example be visited by an officer of the Public Assistance Committee to supervise one child and by a child protection officer acting under the Public Health Committee to supervise the other. It may be added that the central departments each maintain their own inspectors who may be associated with such a visit.

430. We have considered the arguments of those who urge that the upbringing of all deprived children should be a direct State responsibility exercised through officers of a central department, as it is for example in the case of the war orphans supervised by the Ministry of Pensions, as opposed to a delegated task performed by local authorities and other agencies. We do not think that this would be the right method of handling the problem. The numbers of war orphans are small and the children can be thought of as individuals in the central office. Where the numbers are so large as those we are now considering a central office would tend to regard them rather as entries in a card index.

431. We think that constant local interest in the children of a locality is a very important element in their welfare, and that the local authority should not be divested of responsibility for its own children who are without normal homes. The children should on the contrary be absorbed to the greatest possible extent in the life of the neighbourhood. There is the further point that the authority with immediate responsibility for their welfare in any area would be bound to work with the local Education and Public Health Committees and should therefore normally be of similar standing to those committees and should have constant contact with them. Some of the cases arise from the housing conditions in the local authority's own area; some are the products of a deplorably low standard of cleanliness among the householders, or a low standard of behaviour of the girls and women. These are matters in which the local authority is bound to interest itself, and we are confident that all progressive authorities would wish to be fully responsible for providing the child with a substitute home when it has proved impossible to maintain him in his own.

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING RESPONSIBILITY

432. The ultimate responsibility should in our opinion be with one central department which would define requirements, maintain standards, advise and assist those taking immediate responsibility for the care of children and act as a clearing house for progressive ideas. The actual provision, except for some special groups of abnormal children, should remain a matter for the local authorities and the voluntary organisations. The local authority concerned would not necessarily be the authority now responsible for any one group; for one thing it would have to be large enough to employ the right type of executive officer. We desire to say at the outset that while many authorities have done and are doing admirable work in some respects, we are by no means satisfied that all local authorities have dealt with this matter as it ought to be dealt with. Some lapses are within the public knowledge, others—too many—have come to our notice in the course of our investigations. We feel very strongly that the means at present available to central departments for bringing sub-standard authorities up to the level of the best where inspection and exhortation have failed are either insufficient

or not used. Over and over again we have found that the faults we have discovered in visiting a children's Home were observed by inspectors some years before and duly brought to the authority's notice but that nothing was done. The quality of recent inspection seems to us on the whole good, though its frequency has been reduced too much by war conditions: it is the enforcement that is at fault. The Ministry of Health has wide order-making powers under the Poor Law Act (Sections 1 and 136), but the relations of the Ministry with the local authorities seem to be persuasive and advisory rather than mandatory. Members of a local authority may be surcharged by the District Auditor if it overspends, but there is no penalty, short of the odium of a public inquiry, attached to underspending. The Ministry formerly had power to replace Boards of Guardians by nominees of the Minister, but this power lapsed in 1930 when the Boards of Guardians were replaced by county and county borough councils. Under Section 13 of the Poor Law Act the Minister may remove or suspend an officer of the authority who is negligent or incompetent, but this is no remedy when the policy of the authority is at fault. The position on the side of education is on paper better. Under the Education Act, 1944, the Minister of Education may, if satisfied that a local authority has failed to discharge any duty imposed on it by the Act, declare the authority to be in default, and give directions enforceable by mandamus. We recommend that equivalent powers be given to the Minister on whom is placed the responsibility for the care of deprived children. The principal means of maintaining standards will, however, in our view, be the power to hold public inquiry. In a matter of such interest to the public this should be effective, and it should be resorted to without hesitation in case of need. We should mention here that we assume that all the various services to the deprived child will in future be subject to Exchequer grant, and that this will relieve difficulties arising from the small financial resources of certain authorities.

VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

433. As regards the voluntary organisations, the best of these have excellent standards and ample funds to support them. The less good should be brought up to the right standard by the central department armed with full powers of inspection and direction, and where this cannot be done, they should be prohibited from continuing their activities. The principle of utilising voluntary help to the full in spheres in which the State or local government is active is well established in this country, and we see no reason for departing from it in this particular connection. We recommend however, that in so far as voluntary Homes taking full custody of children are not registered and inspected by Government Departments, they should be so registered and inspected. At present registration is confined to those voluntary Homes receiving subscriptions from the public. We should like to see steps taken to bring the smaller independent children's Homes and orphanages into association (not necessarily amalgamation) with the larger organisations, which have a consistent and publicly announced policy and the means for carrying it out; we are informed that there is already some movement in that direction. There are large numbers of Catholic Homes and orphanages under no central administration, the Catholic Child Welfare Council being a consultative body and the Homes and institutions in each diocese being under the supervision of the Bishop of the diocese. We desire moreover to see the voluntary service more closely integrated with the public service. The principle of inspection of voluntary Homes by officers of central departments is well established, and the power of the responsible Minister (now the Home Secretary) to serve directions on any Home in which the treatment is unsatisfactory and to follow this up in the event of non-compliance by applying for a Court order for the removal of the children, should be

adequate as a means of maintaining standards. Greater local collaboration would however be an advantage, and we shall have some suggestions to make as regards liaison between the voluntary Homes and the committee of the local authority primarily responsible for the children's welfare. Subject to these proposals we think the voluntary organisations should be left to function as at present but under statutory rules laid down by the central department, neglect of which would make them liable to be closed. They are not of course quite independent of, or detached from, local authorities in existing conditions. Upwards of 200 voluntary Homes, including most of the branches of the large national organisations are certified by the Minister of Health for the reception of Poor Law children, and are open to inspection both by the Ministry and by the local authorities who place children with them. The voluntary organisations and the local education authorities take parallel responsibilities in the provision of approved schools, and Juvenile Courts commit children to voluntary organisations, as well as to local authorities as "fit persons". Some of our official witnesses paid the voluntary organisations high tributes for their enterprise and pioneering spirit, and we ourselves have seen fine examples of their work. On the other hand some of their many branches at times fall below a satisfactory standard, and it would be all to the good to supplement their central control by the visits and advice of the officer of the local authority as would be done by our proposed extension of the child life protection service. In the case of small independent voluntary Homes such contact is even more desirable. The opening of new voluntary Homes in excess of the requirements of the district or group to be served would also come under notice by this means, and be brought to the notice of the central department if necessary.

CENTRAL AUTHORITY

434. We do not accept the view urged by some of our witnesses that a single department should be responsible for every aspect of the life of the deprived child. The principle of defining the functions of Government Departments by the groups of people they look after rather than by the nature of the work they do seems to us wrong: in this case we think it would also be administratively clumsy. We feel too that to consign these children for all purposes to the care of a single Ministry would be to emphasise what we wish to minimise—the extent to which they are marked off from other children. We think that they should come within the purview of the Ministry of Education for education in the same way as children living with their parents, and that they should be subject to the health supervision of the Ministry of Health in the same way as the normal child is subject to it, and that if physically or mentally handicapped, they should be treated as other children under these handicaps are treated by the responsible department—e.g., the Ministry of Education or the Board of Control. If they are delinquent in the sense of requiring penal treatment, the department responsible for such treatment (the Home Office) must prescribe the treatment for them. The missing element in the lives of these children is the home background, and we consider that all the children in whose lives that has ceased to exist or ceased to count should be brought under the supervision of a single department. Which department is a question which must be settled on another level, and it does not seem to us to be so important as the achievement of unification. The duty no doubt impinges on the functions on the one side of the Ministry of Health as the department responsible for the bodily welfare of children, and on the other side of the Ministry of Education which is the department responsible for children's mental training and to an increasing extent for domiciliary provision for those pupils needing it; whereas the Home Office has already developed to a considerable extent the study of the

substitute home. We would only urge that whichever department undertakes the work, it should have a Children's Branch making a special study of child welfare on the side of the home, without specialist bias on any side, and an inspectorate able to judge whether the conditions for the child's total welfare as a human being exist in a particular case. The responsible Minister might be well advised to appoint an Advisory Council to keep him in touch with developments in outside expert opinion on the subject of child care.

435. The Children's Branch in the selected department would take full responsibility, in so far as this falls on the central government, for the destitute child, the child in need of care or protection committed by the Juvenile Courts to the local authority as a "fit person," the illegitimate child whose mother is unable to support him, the child in a voluntary Home, the child in a foster home and the child placed for adoption. We think that the care of deprived children now supervised by the Ministry of Pensions should properly also belong to the selected department, but in view of the fact that this is a disappearing charge and the care of the children is governed by special financial and other conditions, we think the transfer should be postponed until reasons of economy and administrative efficiency make the Pensions machinery clearly obsolete. In the meantime as much use as possible should be made by the Ministry of Pensions of the visitors of the children's organisation which we recommend and the code of Rules for boarded out children should apply to war orphans as to others. Legislation would of course be necessary to give the central department selected those relevant powers under the Poor Law Act, the Children and Young Persons Acts, the Public Health Act and the Adoption of Children Acts, which do not at present belong to it, as well as the new powers we propose. The broad responsibility of the central department will be to see that all deprived children have an upbringing likely to make them sound and happy citizens and that they have all the chances, educational and vocational, of making a good start in life that are open to children in normal homes.

436. One of the most important means at the disposal of the central department for enforcing its standards and assisting local authorities and voluntary organisations in the work of child care is inspection. We consider that children's Homes of all types should be inspected at least once a year, and more often if they require special attention; and we recommend that the inspecting staff shall be brought up to the number required to maintain this standard of frequency, and in addition to cover the inspection of foster homes and the work of boarding out visitors.

437. One of the first tasks of the central department will be to co-ordinate and complete in collaboration with local authorities the information regarding children's Homes now in existence, their management, character and capacity, which is at present divided between two departments, and to arrange for it to be kept up to date. Our experience has shown that the information at departmental headquarters at present is by no means exhaustive or even always reliable. No doubt war conditions have led to many unreported changes in the position.

LOCAL AUTHORITY

438. Turning now to the local authority aspect, the existing confusion is in our opinion even more acute and dangerous than in the sphere of central government. The local authority for one purpose, e.g., child life protection, may be different from the local authority for another purpose, e.g., public assistance, and under a particular authority there may be a division of responsibility among those committees. This may lead to a position in which no one feels actively and personally responsible for the welfare of the individual child,

and in which, as we have heard in evidence, there may even be wrangles between committees as to who shall bear the cost of his support while the child is left without proper care. We consider that all the children without a normal home life coming within the central department's sphere in a particular area should be under the care of the county or county borough council, and under one committee of the council, subject always to the continuance of the voluntary organisations' present activities. The co-option of representatives of voluntary organisations on the committee is in our opinion most desirable, and we think it should be open to the committee to co-opt within narrow limits of numbers other skilled and experienced persons.

439. We have had evidence that many county councils and county borough councils share our view that a single committee should be responsible and are moving in that direction. They are also to some extent tending to remove the care of these children from the sphere of public assistance. Both law and government administration have assisted this development. The Local Government Act, 1929, required the councils to prepare administrative schemes which provided for giving assistance where possible otherwise than through the Poor Law. Under the Poor Law Act, 1930, the councils may, in their administrative schemes, assign the work of the Public Assistance Committee to any other committee of the council. A number of such assignments have been made in respect of the care of deprived children. Where this has been done the most general practice is to hand over the children under five years of age to the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee and those over five to the Education Committee, though the London County Council has till recently made the division at three years and now makes it at two; and some councils have handed over the whole of the care of poor children separated from their parents to the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee or the Public Health Committee. There are some transfers in the other direction, the Public Assistance Committee acting for the Education Committee in boarding out children under the Children and Young Persons Act. We were informed that in fifteen counties and eleven county boroughs full co-ordination of the boarding out arrangements is achieved. It is notable than in two cases, Nottingham and Lancashire, there is a single committee for the care of the deprived child. In Nottingham it is a joint committee of the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee and the Education Committee; in Lancashire a completely *ad hoc* committee. We are clear that all these are moves in the right direction, and that there should be one and only one responsible committee to exercise the duty of care of children deprived of a normal home life. As to which committee this should be we have had conflicting advice. The one point of agreement is that it should not be the Public Assistance Committee or be capable of being described as the Public Assistance Committee under another name. Apart from the expectation that in accordance with the announced intentions of the Government the part of the Poor Law relating to children will shortly disappear, we find a strong impression that the stigma attached to Public Assistance even if called, as it often now is, Social Welfare, is so deeply ingrained that only a completely new approach will enable the authorities to keep clear of it. As between the other existing committees concerned with the care of children, we have received very strong representations that the whole of the work, at all events for children over the age of two, should be entrusted to the Education Committee of the council. It is pointed out by those who take this view that the Education Act, 1944, entrusts the local education authority with the education of children over the age of two and gives it powers to provide residential accommodation for such children; the duty of home-finding for those children who need it would be in line with these functions and easily combined with them. For the infants it has been urged that the Maternity and Child Welfare Committee, which

already provides residential nurseries, should take full responsibility. In opposition to these arguments it has been pointed out that to transfer a child from one committee's sphere to another, especially while it is an infant or a very small child, is not in the child's best interests, which demand continuity of treatment and if possible of surroundings and human relations. It is suggested moreover that the Education Committee being mainly concerned with education of the mind and dealing as it does with constantly increasing duties, may fail to recognise the importance of home-finding and in consequence may tend to treat it as a side issue and to deal with it through office staff.

440. After carefully considering these arguments we favour the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee reporting direct to the council. Such a committee would no doubt contain members experienced in the work of the Public Assistance, Public Health and Education Committees, but would not be in any way representative of or subordinate to those committees (should the Public Assistance Committee be still in existence). This Children's Committee would take the responsibilities that now fall to the council in respect of children not in their own homes under the Poor Law Act, the Public Health Act, the Children and Young Persons Act and the Adoption of Children Acts, and would become responsible for boarding out children where necessary. It would consider the needs of its area for residential accommodation for deprived children and make the necessary provision. It would manage the children's Homes, the approved schools and the remand homes provided by the authority. The combination of boarding out responsibility and the control of children's Homes under one committee is, we think, essential. Children may well be housed in the Homes in preparation for boarding out and should be under the same authority and supervision. The committee would also assume any additional responsibilities arising out of our recommendations for the extension of public responsibility. It would not be in a position, as the local authority is at present, to refuse to accept responsibility for children in need of care and protection.*

CILDREN'S OFFICER

441. Our preference for the single *ad hoc* committee with power to make recommendations and submit estimates direct to the council is based in part on the need we feel for emphasising the function of home-finding as something separate and distinct from the education and health services given to all children; but in part also on our desire that it should have

* Its functions would thus be—

- (a) The provision and administration of residential Homes for deprived children.
- (b) The boarding out of children now undertaken by the Public Assistance Committee under the Poor Law Act and the Education Committee under the Children and Young Persons Act. Approval of foster homes for other boarding out agencies.
- (c) All functions of the local authority with regard to adoption.
 - (i) Acting as guardian *ad litem* where the local authority is so appointed by the Court.
 - (ii) Investigating the circumstances in cases of private placing for adoption under Section 7 of the Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act 1939, as amended if our recommendations are approved.
 - (iii) The registration of adoption societies.
- (d) The supervision of children placed with foster mothers under the child life protection provisions of the Public Health Acts (as extended if our recommendations are approved).
- (e) The keeping of records relating to all deprived children in its area including those whom the committee has boarded out or sent to special establishments outside the area, and particulars of those in the care of voluntary organisations.
- (f) The appointment of a Children's Officer and the necessary number of boarding out visitors.
- (g) After care of deprived children for whom it is responsible.

its own executive officer with the standing of an important administrative official of the council, in direct touch with the responsible committee, not a member of the staff of the Education Officer or other head of department, however closely linked with existing departments for purposes of office administration. Needless to say we should regard such close links as indispensable. All the services of the health and education departments should be available to the Children's Officer at need, for example the organiser of school meals as dietetic adviser for the children's Homes, the handicrafts and youth club specialists for the organisation of recreational activities there, and the Health Visitors for advice about children's health. We desire, however, to see the responsibility for the welfare of the deprived children definitely laid on a Children's Officer. This may indeed be said to be our solution of the problem referred to us. Throughout our investigation we have been increasingly impressed by the need for the personal element in the care of children, which Sir Walter Monckton emphasised in his report on the O'Neill case. No office staff dealing with them as case papers can do the work we want done—work which is in part administrative, but also in large part field work, involving many personal contacts and the solution of problems by direct methods, in particular the method of interview rather than official correspondence. All the persons who deal with the child—the Superintendent of the Home, the foster parent and the school teacher—should be known as human beings to the officer of the authority to whom the care of that particular child has been assigned.

442. So important do we think it that a Children's Officer should be appointed and should be an officer of high standing and qualifications, that where the children in an area are not numerous enough to provide a full load of work we think authorities should combine and set up a Joint Children's Board with a joint executive officer. Some of the counties might well combine for this purpose with the county boroughs within their limits. There is something absurd about two officials in different streets of the same town boarding out children, one on behalf of the borough, the other on behalf of the county. Even combined, some of these areas would not, on the present basis, provide a case load for a very responsible officer; the load would, however, be increased if our recommendations with regard to widening the scope of public care were adopted. We have no desire to fix a hard and fast limit, but we think that an area with less than 500 children in the classes requiring periodical visiting should *prima facie* be combined with another area. The Joint Board should exercise all the functions in relation to deprived children which in the case of a county or county borough council would be exercised through the Children's Committee, including the administration of the children's Homes in the area.

443. As we envisage the revised organisation which we recommend, the Children's Officer would be its pivot. She (we use the feminine pronoun not with any aim of excluding men from these posts but because we think it may be found that the majority of persons suitable for the work are women) will of course work under the orders of her committee or board, but she will be a specialist in child care as the Medical Officer of Health is a specialist in his own province and the Director of Education is in his; and she will have no other duties to distract her interests. She would represent the council in its parental functions. The committal of the child to the care of a council which takes over parental rights and duties is not without incongruity. To be properly exercised the responsibility must be delegated to an individual, and that individual one whose training has fitted her for child care and whose whole attention is given to it. Though committal by the Court to a "fit person" should, in order to secure continuity

and relieve the officer of an undue burden of liability, be still made to the authority, the Children's Officer would be the *person* to whom the child would look as guardian.

444. Orphan children not living with legal guardians or near relatives would be her care as war orphans are now the care of the Ministry of Pensions officer. Children would be brought to her notice by the police, relieving officers (or the equivalent under any new arrangement for public assistance), parents, voluntary organisations, and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. She would keep full and careful records of all deprived children for whom her authority is responsible, she would place them in suitable homes where necessary and would care for their welfare until they were independent. All placings of children in foster homes not through her office, whether for reward or not, and whether or not with a view to adoption, would be notified to her, and she would be responsible for the supervision of the children. She would also watch over the welfare of the illegitimate children in the area. She would be notified of all children placed in the voluntary Homes in her area and would arrange for them to be visited. She would maintain close contact with voluntary organisations operating in her area. She would be directly responsible, under her committee, for admissions of children to all Homes in the area owned or managed by the local authority and for the maintenance of these Homes at a proper standard. She would apply in suitable cases to the local education authority for the admission of deprived children to boarding-schools. She would keep a list of suitable foster homes for boarding out and inspect those homes or arrange for their inspection. Other local authorities would not board out in the area except through her and on the understanding that the local Children's Committee would undertake the supervision of these children. She would maintain a record of children for whom her committee was responsible who had been placed in another area, and arrange for them to be visited by the Children's Officer of that area. She would be responsible for the supervision of the staff of the local authority's children's Homes and would have a staff of women and probably at least one man performing the present functions of boarding out visitors and child protection visitors, as well as suitable clerical staff. Though the Children's Officer would be responsible to the committee of her local authority we think it important that her qualifications should be approved by the central department before her appointment and also that she should make an annual report to her committee which should be presented to the council and forwarded to the central department. We should hope that when the organisation we recommend is well established, the Children's Officer would be so well known in her area as the authority on children's welfare questions that individual difficulties and problems would be brought to her as a matter of course.

445. We attach great importance to establishing and maintaining a continuing personal relation between the child deprived of a home and the official of the local authority responsible for looking after him. This relation with officials of a central department has been achieved by the Ministry of Pensions for its war orphans. It will not be practicable for the Children's Officer of a large county council or county borough council to know and keep in personal touch with all the children under her care, and she should therefore aim at allocating a group of children definitely to each of her subordinates. The subordinate officer would, subject to accidents, illness, change of employment, and the incidence of retirement, be the friend of those particular children through their childhood and adolescence up to the age of sixteen or eighteen as the case might be.

446. The Children's Officer should in our view be highly qualified academically, if possible a graduate who has also a social science diploma. She should not be under thirty at the time of appointment and should have had some experience of work with children. She should have marked administrative capacity and be able readily to grasp local government procedure and to work easily with local authority committees. Her essential qualifications, however, would be on the personal side. She should be genial and friendly in manner and able to set both children and adults at their ease. She should have a strong interest in the welfare of children and enough faith and enthusiasm to be ready to try methods new and old of compensating by care and affection those who have had a bad start in life. She should have very high standards of physical and moral welfare, but should be flexible enough in temperament to avoid a sterile institutional correctness.

HOME-FINDING FOR THE NORMAL CHILD

447. We now turn to the various methods which would be open to the authority through its Children's Officer of dealing, independently or in collaboration with voluntary organisations, with the normal healthy child deprived of a home; and we wish to emphasise once more the extreme seriousness of taking a child away from even an indifferent home. Every effort should be made to keep the child in its home, or with its mother if it is illegitimate, provided that the home is or can be made reasonably satisfactory. The aim of the authority must be to find something better—indeed much better—if it takes the responsibility of providing a substitute home. The methods which should be available may be treated under three main heads of adoption, boarding out and residence in communities. We have placed these in the order in which, subject to the safeguards we propose and to consideration of the needs of the individual, they seem to us to secure the welfare and happiness of the child.

ADOPTION

448. Adoption is a method of home-finding specially appropriate to the child who has finally lost his own parents by death, desertion, or their misconduct, and in a secondary degree to the illegitimate child whose mother is unable or unwilling to maintain him. If it is successful it is the most completely satisfactory method of providing a substitute home. It gives the child new parents, with all the parents' rights and responsibilities, who take the place of the real parents so far as human nature allows. Since the Adoption of Children Act of 1926 the number of legal adoptions has been going up by large percentages nearly every year, and the increase between 1944 and 1945 was of the order of 25 per cent. The number in the latter year was 16,357. We were informed by one local authority that there were many more would-be adopters than suitable children available. There is no statistical evidence of the percentage of happy results, but in the absence of evidence to the contrary it is reasonable to suppose that in the large majority of cases the connection turns out well. We investigated a suggestion that an abnormally large proportion of children in approved schools were adopted children. An inquiry covering a sample of 11,000 boys in approved schools does not indicate that there is any significant difference between the proportion of adopted children coming into these schools and in the general population. There are of course cases in which adoption is not successful, either through the development of some mental or physical defect in the child or through a change of heart in adopters whose motives in the first instance were perhaps not free from self-interest. One of the large voluntary organisations told us that the proportion of adopted children among those for whom admission to their Homes was sought seemed high. The failures of which we have heard point to the need for rigorous investigation.

before a final decision is made, and the anxiety which has been expressed to us by social workers is partly on this score, and partly on the ground that where proposed adoptions come to nothing because no application for an adoption order is made or because the order is refused there is no guarantee that the child will be removed from the home of the adoptive parents which may be quite unfit for it.

449. The work of adoption societies was reviewed in 1937 by a Departmental Committee under the Chairmanship of Miss Horsbrugh and was subsequently regulated by the Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act, 1939, which came into effect in 1943. It is too soon to review the working of that Act, and we do not wish to make any recommendations with regard to adoption societies other than that they should notify the placing of a child to the appropriate local authority. Some of them already do so, and indeed use the authority's Health Visitors to inspect the home. The extension of the range of notification should bring to light any laxities in the practice of particular adoption societies and make it possible—as it is desirable—for these to be brought under the notice of the local authority which has registered the society. Most of our witnesses dealing with adoption have pressed for the application to other methods of adoption of the precautions required for adoption society placings: these by implication therefore are generally regarded as adequate. Only a small proportion of legal adoptions (under 25 per cent. in 1944) are however arranged by adoption societies. The rest are arranged by the parent direct, by a "third party" or by a local authority. In the "third party" case there is a provision in the Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act for notifying the welfare authority of the placing of a child under 9 years of age, and for the investigation of the circumstances by the child protection visitor of the local authority under provisions similar to those of the child life protection service. In the case of adoptions arranged by the local authority such precautions are no doubt taken as the authority thinks proper. But in a private placing by a parent there is no public supervision or investigation unless and until an application for an adoption order is made, and the danger to the child is as great, if not greater, than Miss Horsbrugh's Committee found to exist in the case of children placed by adoption societies.

450. We think that the interests of the child require in all cases (1) a probationary period to enable the adopters to test their own inclinations and make certain that they can really give a parent's care and affection to the child; (2) some degree of public supervision during that period; (3) some provision for removing the child from an unsatisfactory home and finding it a home elsewhere, either during the probationary period or when an adoption order has been asked for and refused.

451. A probationary period (3 months) is required in adoption society cases before an order can be applied for, and a further 3 months are allowed before it must be applied for or the child returned. Local authorities have power under the Poor Law Act, Section 52, sub-section 7, to arrange *de facto* adoptions with a period of probation up to 3 years in length. Some authorities we understand require an adoption order to be applied for in such cases after a period of not more than 6 months. For private and third party adoptions there is no prescribed period of probation, unless the Court makes an interim order. We recommend that the Court should in all cases, however they may have been arranged, require evidence of a successful probationary period of residence of at least 3 months before a decision is given, with an extension of the period to not more than 6 months at its discretion. It is of course open to the Court to make an interim order where longer probation seems desirable, as it well may be in the case of

very young children suspected of physical or mental defects. We are advised, however, that with developing medical skill and an increase in the number of qualified practitioners it will be possible to diagnose such defects with confidence when the infant is 9 months old, or even as early as six months.

452. During the probationary period all children placed with a view to adoption should in our opinion come under the supervision of the Children's Officer, though the degree and method of supervision might vary in the different cases. If our recommendations in paragraph 424 are adopted the person receiving the child for other than temporary purposes, whether it is under or over 9 years of age, unless he or she is a near relative, would be obliged to notify the fact to the local authority (Children's Committee). This would apply whatever agency had placed the child, and we consider that the Children's Officer should have the home inspected, and visited periodically during the probation period (unless she is satisfied that supervision by officers of an adoption society is being efficiently done) and should equip herself to supply all necessary information when the matter comes before the Court.

453. The 1926 Act obliges the Court in dealing with an application for an adoption order to appoint a guardian *ad litem* to make the necessary inquiries and represent the interests of the child. The appointment of a Children's Officer with appropriate staff would make it natural for the magistrates to appoint her or one of her subordinates as the guardian *ad litem*, rather than members of the local authority's staff without special qualifications for the work, who we understand are sometimes employed at present. We think that the magistrates should be advised to do this, except in a case where the local authority, through its children's officer, has itself arranged the adoption; in such cases the spirit of the statute requires that an independent person should be appointed guardian *ad litem*. It has been suggested to us that the reports of guardians *ad litem* are often perfunctory. If so, it is for the Courts to insist on fuller investigation. We can only stress the importance of seeing that such investigation is made and using the right agents for making it.

454. We think it highly important to clarify the position as regards the responsibility for a child found to be in an unsatisfactory home, either during the pre-application period or when the application for an adoption order is considered. Adoption societies now remain responsible for the child during the probationary period, and are required by law to take the child back if an order is refused. In the case of third party placings the welfare authority may apply to a court of summary jurisdiction, or in an emergency the child protection visitor may apply to a justice of the peace, for an order for the removal of a child from a "detrimental" environment; but there is no such provision in the case of "direct" placings, unless the child's need of care or protection justifies action under Section 62 of the Children and Young Persons Act. We consider that application to the Court or to a justice of the peace should be open to the Children's Officer in all cases (though where the matter is in the hands of an adoption society she would be unlikely to exercise it). Further, we think that in cases where the placing has not been made by an adoption society, if an adoption order is refused on the ground that the home is unsatisfactory, the magistrates should be empowered to make an immediate order, without further application, committing the child to the care of the local authority. It would then fall to the Children's Officer to find the child a home if it proved impossible to return him to his parents. (We are informed that in a large number of such cases the mother cannot be traced.) There would of course be no need for the order suggested if the adoption order had been

refused for some reason not reflecting on the satisfactoriness of the home. In that case the question of legal guardianship might be raised. (See above para. 425 (ii).)

455. We have heard some disquieting evidence about adoption agencies not covered by the terms of the Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act. There is in that Act nothing to prevent "third parties" who are in a special position in relation to infant children—e.g. a matron of a nursing home—making a business of arranging adoptions without proper inquiry as to the home to which the child is sent and without any security that an adoption order will be applied for. There may be nominally no fee for the service, but there appears sometimes to be a concealed fee—e.g. in the form of work by the mother of the child given before and after the birth or as part of the overall payment made for the confinement. There may even be an illegal payment by the persons receiving the child which would be very difficult to discover. The "third party" is obliged to notify the placing to the welfare authority, but this falls far short of the precautions required from an adoption society. Our evidence moreover indicates that where large numbers of children are disposed of in this way soon after birth there is insufficient attention to the risks of travelling and change of environment which are entailed. We think that private persons should be prohibited from arranging adoptions in the sense of inviting applications and handing over the children direct to the adopters. It is difficult to avoid ruling out bona fide acts of personal kindness by such a prohibition, but it should be possible to place the onus of showing why he or she should not be regarded as breaking the law on any person who had placed as many as three infants for adoption in a single year. They would come under notice through the notification procedure.

456. We see no reason why the investigations into the health of the child and the adopters should be less thorough in the case of direct "third party" and local authority placings than they are in the case of placings by adoption societies. Before an order is granted the Court should require the child to be medically examined in all cases, and the adoptive parents should be required to complete a declaration stating that they have not suffered from tuberculosis, epilepsy, mental disorder or heart trouble. Where there is doubt as to their state of health—i.e. where a disease is suspected which might endanger the child's welfare—the adopters should be medically examined.

457. We have had some evidence that adoptive parents who have been refused an order by one Court may be successful in another. Applicants for an adoption order are already asked for a declaration that they have not been refused an adoption order by another Court in respect of the child concerned. We think the declaration should also cover an application in respect of any other child. Where a refusal is admitted the Court would be put on its guard and could have additional inquiries made.

458. Under the Adoption of Children (Regulation) Act, 1939, the local authority which registers an adoption society must satisfy itself that the society employs "competent" officers for making arrangements for adoption. No standard is laid down as to what constitutes competence. We recommend that local authorities be advised that adoption societies should employ officers of similar qualifications to those of the boarding out visitors employed by the local authorities themselves. In both local authorities' and voluntary organisations' services there are experienced and valuable visitors without academic or other formal qualifications. We recommend below (Appendix I) a form of special short-term training for such workers.

459. The points we have dealt with in relation to adoption are those which seem to us directly to affect the safety and welfare of the child. A number of other points have been raised by witnesses, relating for example to Court

procedure, laws of inheritance, and the protection of the adopters, which we regard as for consideration by departments dealing with adoption questions, but not within our terms of reference.

BOARDING OUT

460. We have placed boarding out next because of the view expressed in nearly all quarters that it is on the whole the best method short of adoption of providing the child with a substitute for his own home. In view of this general opinion it is rather surprising to find that of the 125,000 children coming within our first survey, only 31,000 are boarded out, and 11,000 of these have been placed in foster homes without the intervention of any public authority or the application before placing of any generally recognised standard. The main reason for this seems on investigation to be a shortage of satisfactory foster homes. Till 1945 the rules of the Ministry of Health did not permit the boarding out of any but orphan or deserted children and children "adopted" by the public assistance authority, though exceptions were authorised. This restriction has now been removed, but it appears that even before the removal there were not enough homes for the children. The Home Office on the other hand insist on the boarding out as soon as possible of children committed to the local education authority as "fit person." Some of the large voluntary organisations (e.g. Dr. Barnardo's Homes and the Church of England Children's Society, formerly the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society) make it a practice to board children out, others (e.g. the National Children's Home and the Catholic Child Welfare Council) differ from the general run of opinion in being averse from doing so as a general policy. Even the former group, however, have most of their children in Homes. It must be remembered also that a considerable proportion of the children are unsuited by habits, age, or by physical or mental condition to be placed in a private house. We are told that older children are difficult to place, and boys more difficult than girls. Coloured children can hardly be placed at all. Children whose own parents are in the neighbourhood do not settle well in foster homes.

461. When all these factors have been allowed for it remains true that far more children could be boarded out if there were suitable homes for them. We should like at this point to deal briefly with the principle that (adoption apart) boarding out should be regarded as the ideal method of disposing of the children. We think this is true where the home is in every way satisfactory and suited to the particular child. The evidence is very strong that in the free conditions of ordinary family life with its opportunities for varied human contacts and experiences, the child's nature develops and his confidence in life and ease in society are established in a way that can hardly be achieved in a larger establishment living as it must a more strictly regulated existence. For this reason we strongly deprecate the system which obtains in one charitable organisation of boarding out the children as infants and bringing them in to an institution at school age or a little older, even though their foster parents are anxious to bring them up in their homes and send them to the local schools and the children themselves are happy and well cared for. But as soon as the foster home falls below the entirely satisfactory standard, the institution—at all events the institution based on the small family group—begins to have advantages. Supervision of individual children placed in private houses is obviously much more difficult than supervision of groups under the care of employees of a local authority. If the foster parents are to any extent attracted by the payment made for the child and are themselves living on the verge of poverty the child may well suffer in bad times. There are also the various emotional dangers arising from changes of family circumstances—e.g. the return of a father from the Forces or the second marriage

of a widow, or merely a change of mind in the foster mother towards the child. The primary requirements of the children for whom the substitute home must be provided are affection and stability. There is no doubt that these essentials have been secured in many foster homes, but we wish to say emphatically that no risk should be taken in this very serious matter. If there is a doubt about the home the child should not go there. We feel obliged to deprecate insistence by the central department on the boarding out of any particular class of children. This has been done in the past with the "care or protection" children committed to the local authority, and though we understand that the policy has led to a useful development of the boarding out system, we fear that it has also had the effect of causing sub-standard homes to be too readily accepted. The O'Neill case supplies an example. It must be remembered that supervision and the possibility of removing the child from a bad or indifferent home are not a satisfactory safeguard, because the removal itself is bad for the child, who has already had at least one complete change of environment. Children undergoing several changes of foster parents are often worse off than if they had never been boarded out at all.

462. To sum up, our conclusion is that whereas the best foster home care should be used to the maximum, subject always to the suitability of the individual child for boarding out and for the home in which it is proposed to place him, it would be wrong, in view of the limitations placed on boarding out by the number of good foster parents available and the risk to the child where the home is less than entirely satisfactory, not to develop to the full, side by side with boarding out, an alternative form of compensation for the loss of a normal home life. Where voluntary organisations specialise in such alternative forms of care, we do not think they should be pressed to change their system.

463. The shortage of suitable foster homes has been explained in our evidence mainly by the following circumstances:—

- (i) The weariness induced by war conditions, which has made a number of very suitable foster parents who have housed evacuated children feel a strong desire now that peace has returned to have their homes to themselves. We are informed that only a small proportion of billetors are recommended as foster parents, approved by the local authority concerned, and willing to continue;
- (ii) There is a strong dread of becoming attached to a child who may be removed after a year or two from the foster parents' care. Interference by the child's real parents is feared and disliked;
- (iii) Recent cases reported in the Press have given rise to the fear that foster homes will be very strictly supervised and that there will be frequent inspection and criticism;
- (iv) Some of our witnesses considered that the allowances were insufficient and that a foster mother should be specifically rewarded for her service as well as compensated for the cost of the child's upkeep, but this view is not unanimously held;
- (v) As regards privately placed children, the uncertainty of the payments acts as a strong deterrent;
- (vi) The employment of women on work outside their homes and the absence of their husbands on war service has for some years made it difficult for them to assume extra household burdens and responsibilities;
- (vii) The housing shortage has reduced available accommodation.

Only the first and the last two of these difficulties will be reduced by the course of time; the fourth and fifth might be removed by deliberate action.

464. We should add that the experience of evacuation, notwithstanding the reaction referred to in paragraph 463 (i) above, suggests that there is a large potential additional supply of foster homes. This conclusion is strengthened by evidence that homes were forthcoming for the Refugee Children's Movement, which boarded out some 9,000 children immediately before the war. There is reason to think that success in securing foster homes varies to some extent with the vigour and enthusiasm of the local authority. Figures have been supplied to us which show that taking two comparable largely rural counties, the proportion of children boarded out is 49 per cent. in one case and 80 per cent. in the other, and of two seaside resorts one has boarded out 82 per cent. and the other only 17 per cent. More co-operation between neighbouring authorities would probably have led to a larger number of placings.

465. A vigorous effort to extend the boarding out system for children in the care of local authorities should in our view be made, so far as homes of good standard in all respects can be found. The task of finding foster homes should be entrusted to trained visitors on the staff of the Children's Officer; we have been impressed by the extent to which at present it is left to untrained staff. Advertising, we understand, is generally regarded as unfruitful, though we have had evidence from one county council which has found a recent advertisement successful. The wording of the advertisement is important. A request for a good home for a child of whose circumstances some particulars are given appears to produce more suitable offers than any suggestion of a money transaction. Accounts in the public Press of particular children appearing before the Courts sometimes produce a large number of offers, the force of the appeal being perhaps due to the vividness with which the circumstances of the child in question are brought before the imagination. We think it is very likely that a fresh attempt to bring the need to public notice with the assistance of agencies with local branches, for example the Women's Institutes, the Townswomen's Guilds, Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Societies of the various Churches and the Women's Section of the British Legion, would produce a considerably increased number of offers, and we think it would be worth while to undertake this with a view not only to increasing the total number of offers, but also to placing children in more of the comfortable middle class homes which have room for them. The general position at present as regards foster homes in this country is that they are found almost entirely among the weekly wage-earners. We are inclined to think that there has been a tendency to assume that a child should not be placed in a "better class" of home than the home it came from. This seems to us an irrelevant consideration when choosing a permanent home, at all events for a very young child. An appeal to the public would of course have to be delicately handled if it were not to produce large numbers of unsuitable applications. Continued publicity would have to be directed to keeping the need before the public, and carefully explaining the work and responsibility involved. The actual investigation and approval of the homes offered would be the responsibility of the Children's Officer. Personal recommendations from any reliable source, supplemented by the advice of persons of standing with local knowledge, and most careful visits of inquiry, probably offer the best means of finding additional homes. Concentration of this inquiry in the hands of one agent and that a trained and skilled person should greatly improve the position. At the present time voluntary organisations and the various local authority

committees concerned with children compete against each other for suitable foster homes, and it may even happen that a child is placed by one authority or one department of an authority in a home which has been rejected by another; or children may be placed in a single foster home by separate authorities without each other's knowledge. The Home Office and the Ministry of Health have already urged local authorities to combine the work of home-finding for the Public Assistance and Education Committees, and under our proposals the duties of these committees in respect of deprived children would be combined.

466. The interviewing of the prospective foster parents by the staff of the Children's Officer should be thorough, and should include both parents (it may be that the wife wants the child but that the husband's consent is unwilling). Two references should invariably be taken up preferably by personal interview. Reference should be made to the police to see that the record of the foster parents is clear, and in country districts to local residents likely to be acquainted with the family—e.g., the vicar, the vicar's wife, the headmaster of the school, the doctor and doctor's wife, and so on. Possibly a small standing advisory committee could be formed for the purpose. This procedure should apply not only to homes found by the local authority, but also to homes in which the child is with relatives who have applied for a boarding out allowance for his support. We understand that this is frequently the origin of a boarding out arrangement. The advantages of natural affection in such a home may outweigh some inferiority of accommodation, but the committee should be satisfied that it is not of a character to be detrimental to the child. We have had evidence which convinces us that many persons of the right type would be forthcoming to take care—short of adoption or full-time fostering—of a child for school holidays throughout the child's school career, and to that extent meet its need for a family background. We strongly commend this plan in the case of those deprived children who are boarded at charitable institutional schools or who will be placed in boarding schools under the Education Act, 1944.

467. Approved offers of foster homes should be compiled in an informal register by the Children's Officer. A formal register, inclusion in which was notified to the foster parents, might be embarrassing, as there might be difficulty in removing the foster parent from the register when circumstances changed. The list compiled by the Children's Officer should include all homes in which boarded out children may be placed either by the local authority or by other local authorities or by any voluntary organisation, so avoiding the present competition for foster homes among voluntary and official bodies. Once the child is placed we see no reason why voluntary organisations should not supervise children in their care provided that they employ qualified visitors. Any foster home which is on the Children's Officer's list, but has not been recently inspected, should be re-inspected before a child is placed there by the authority, or if a notification of a private placing there is received. A home not on the list in which a private placing is notified should be at once inspected, and the Children's Officer should apply for an order to remove a child if the conditions are unsuitable.

468. The conditions which in our view are essential to successful boarding out are: congeniality between the child and both foster parents and a real prospect of security and the development of mutual affection; willingness on the part of the foster parent to further the interests and abilities of the child and to accept help in doing so; good wholesome conditions of living, however simple, not under the shadow of extreme poverty or precarious livelihood; a location where the child can share in local life and know the neighbours. On the whole our evidence indicates that the outskirts of a town or a

village not too far distant from a town with good educational and recreational facilities, is the most hopeful location. Boarding out in a lonely farm may be excellent, but the risk that if it is bad this will not be found out in time is too great to be taken. We must emphasise the importance of relations of mutual confidence between the boarding out officer and the foster mother. Generally speaking the foster mother should be given all the information available about the history (both family and medical history) of the child; and the course she should take in the event of illness or other difficulty should be made clear to her.

469. The question of payment to foster mothers is a very difficult one. Present local authority rates vary considerably throughout the country. In some areas the education department and the public assistance department of the same council do not pay the same rates. The maximum allowed by the Home Office is 20s. a week, plus an initial allowance of £12 for clothing. The Ministry of Health fix no limit to what a local authority may pay, and indeed have no power to do so, but excessive payments could be questioned by the District Auditor. A few public assistance authorities pay rates above the Home Office maximum. The average for the country seems to be about 16s. a week, inclusive of clothing which is often assessed at only 2s. to 3s. per week. The larger voluntary organisations are unifying their rates at 18s. inclusive. We have received very little evidence suggesting that the scale of payment in a particular case does not cover the cost of keeping the child, but a good deal of evidence in favour of greater uniformity. We see no sufficient reason in present circumstances for a variation in the rate of weekly allowance in different localities, and we recommend that this should be standardized. Some variation in the allowance for clothing would however in our opinion be justified, and we think not less than £12 a year should be allowed for this item. A child in a middle class home would no doubt have more spent on him than a child in a poor home, but we do not think it would be proper to graduate the allowance on that account. Standard allowances might reasonably be reduced in due course by the saving due to the provision of a free mid-day meal at school. On the other hand the element of wear and tear to house and furniture might be taken into account in special cases, as might physical or mental difficulties which make the child difficult to care for.

470. We have received representations from various witnesses that the payment to the foster mother should include an element of remuneration for her trouble. The amount suggested is 10s. a week. There is something to be said for this proposal, on the ground that the mother is doing work for a public authority in caring for the child and that her labour deserves reward. There would also be the advantage that greater pressure could be put on a paid foster mother to perform her duties efficiently. On the other hand if she required such pressure she would not be the right type of foster mother, and some of us feel that the acceptance of payment for the work cuts at the root of the relation between foster mother and child which we wish to create. The evidence is conflicting as to whether at the present time the prospect of financial gain is an important incentive to offers of foster homes. Some organisations consider that it is the ruling motive; others are just as convinced that it counts for very little. We are sure that it should not be an important motive where the child is received into an established household and we recommend that the basis of payment shall not be changed so as to include remuneration.

471. An interesting suggestion has been made to us from more than one quarter that the methods of placing children in homes should include an arrangement with a woman who has a home of her own but must work

to maintain herself, by which she takes a number of children and is paid a living wage. The distinction between this arrangement and the "scattered home", in which the local authority makes arrangements for a group of children in the care of a foster mother in a house detached from other houses used for the same purpose, is a very fine one. It lies mainly in the use of the foster mother's own home. There is a good deal to be said for it where the home is thoroughly suitable for the purpose and the woman is well fitted for employment as a foster mother. There is, of course, no objection to remuneration for the work where the woman is a full-time servant of the authority. We think offers of this kind should be favourably considered by local authorities. It might be a particularly suitable way of providing a home for a large family of brothers and sisters who should be kept together and could not be fitted into a single Home forming one of a group. The home would, of course, have to be visited and supervised like other foster homes.

472. We recommend that the rules laid down by the central department governing the conditions under which children may be boarded out should be generally applicable—i.e., to boarding out by voluntary organisations as well as to boarding out by public authorities. We have examined the two sets of rules issued by the Home Office under the Children and Young Persons Act and the Ministry of Health under the Poor Law Act and most of the rules now laid down appear to us to be satisfactory. We have already deprecated (para. 461) what appears to us to be an undue insistence on boarding out in the Home Office Rules. We doubt the necessity for the limitation imposed by both departments on the number of children to be placed with one foster parent. That number should in our view depend on the circumstances and personality of the foster mother and the accommodation in the home. We think it undesirable to place a child in a foster home where there are no other children if this can be avoided. The rules laid down by the Home Office for frequency of visiting (once in three months) and for medical examination (within the first month of residence) seem to us preferable to the corresponding Poor Law arrangements. We have given close consideration to the rules regarding the weight to be given to "religious persuasion" in selecting the home for the child. The Home Office Rule, following the Children and Young Persons Act, is that the authority shall "if possible" select a person who is of the same religious persuasion as the foster child or who gives an undertaking that the foster child will be brought up in accordance with that religious persuasion. The Poor Law rule lays it down that a child shall not be boarded out or be allowed to remain boarded out with a foster parent of a different religious creed. It seems to the majority of the committee that a regulation is unjustifiable which may involve keeping a child in an unsatisfactory environment, or removing him to a less satisfactory one, merely because the only good foster home available is of a different denomination from that assigned to the child, perhaps a very young child, on the facts available.* We have had evidence that in the present shortage of foster homes this situation has in fact arisen and causes some concern to local authorities. On the other hand we all feel that a genuine effort should be made to find a home of the appropriate denomination, and we deprecate an arrangement by which the child follows different religious observances from those of the home in which he is placed.

473. The control of boarding out by a boarding out committee is compulsory under the Ministry of Health Rules and permissive under the Home Office Rules. We contemplate a Children's Committee to take charge of all the finding

* A reservation by some members will be found on page 183.

of substitute homes by a local authority, and it would be for that committee to appoint one or more boarding out sub-committees, if it thought fit, to consider questions arising on that side of its work. We do not, however, contemplate that members of such a sub-committee should in any area take responsibility for the supervision and personal visiting of foster homes as may be done now under both sets of Rules. For this work we think a trained and skilled officer of the committee should invariably be employed for the minimum statutory number of visits. If a boarding out sub-committee were appointed it would perform such functions in relation to the oversight of the boarding out visitors, and the action taken on their reports, as were entrusted to it by the main committee. Members of such a sub-committee could also play a most important personal part by taking a friendly interest in the children and the foster mothers, inviting them to their homes, introducing them to people who would play the part of a friend and seeing that the children take a full part in the life of the neighbourhood.

474. We contemplate each Children's Officer having under her one or more boarding out visitors each responsible for the supervision of 100 to 150 children on a basis of visiting at least once in three months. Where the home is found to be thoroughly satisfactory and the child is flourishing we think this is sufficient. More frequent visits would of course be necessary where there was any cause for anxiety. The children to be visited would include children coming within the scope of the extended child life protection service which we recommend (i.e. privately placed). The visitors should be trained on rather different lines from the workers for whom we recommended a Child Care Course in our Interim Report. They need more knowledge of social conditions, and more skill in rapid diagnosis of an unsatisfactory relation between child and foster-parent; they should also be trained in the right method of approach to persons visited so as to gain confidence and create pleasant relations. We have received recommendations from some witnesses that Health Visitors should be used generally for this work, but we are unable to agree that they have as a class all the qualifications required, though excellent recruits will no doubt be found among them. We make recommendations for the training of boarding out visitors in Appendix I to this Report. Boarding out visitors employed by voluntary organisations should have similar qualifications. It is essential that children boarded out with foster parents should be covered by the same health service as those in normal homes. Supervision of foster homes on behalf of the Children's Committee is equally indispensable. We have considered whether there should not be some combination of visiting functions in respect of children under 5 years of age, but have come to the conclusion that the duplication of visits need not be on such a scale as to be unwelcome to the foster parent and lead to friction. We understand that for certain children supervised by the Ministry of Pensions double visiting is avoided by mutual consent, so long as no health problem arises. We think it very important that close touch should be maintained with the child's teacher at school, so that for example prolonged absence of a boarded out child from school, his apparent ill-health or unhappiness or the missing of the school medical examination, would be reported by the teacher to the visitor. With the concentration of the central Government work in a single department we assume that the inspectors of that department would have the right of entry to foster homes for inspection purposes as the Home Office and Ministry of Health inspectors have now.

FOSTERING

475. We have considered whether the private boarding out or "fostering," now arranged direct between the parent of the child (generally illegitimate) and the foster mother, could be brought under the full control of the Children's

Committee and Children's Officer. This would involve requiring the mother to consult the Children's Officer before placement and to place the child only with a foster-mother on the approved list. We have already proposed that notification by the foster parent before placing should apply to the child placed for no reward, and to the child over 9 years of age, as it does now to the child under 9 placed for reward. We have concluded with regret that this is as far as public control can be carried, and that to require preliminary notification by the parent as well might lead to widespread evasion and an increase in the number of placings without any notification at all. This is already very considerable. We are informed that of 6,527 children ascertained as at 1st January, 1945, to be fostered in county council areas 942 had not been notified. The corresponding figures for county borough areas are 2,135 and 488. We recommend that suitable publicity be given to the legal requirements in such circumstances. We recommend also that the "Birmingham" system by which the local authority guarantees payments to approved foster-parents receiving children by private arrangement, and recovers these payments in whole or in part from the responsible parent, relative or guardian, should be adopted by all local authorities. Where the child is in the area of an authority not chargeable for its support, there should be power to recover the cost from the authority which is chargeable. There is much evidence that the uncertainty of payments in this class of case tells against the continuance of a happy home for the child. The "Birmingham" scheme is now operated under Maternity and Child Welfare powers and limited to children under 5; it should be extended to children of all ages and managed by the Children's Committee of the local authority. There should be statutory power to recover payments from the parent or guardian. The authority should also have power to make supplementary grants for clothing.

INSTITUTIONS (RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES)

476. The difficulties in the way of boarding out, or arranging adoption for all the children for whom a home life must be provided are obviously very great, and we think that the need for institutional care must be faced, with the aim of making it as good a substitute for the private home as it can possibly be. Some of our witnesses have foreseen the gradual elimination of the institution as social services are improved and the number of "deprived" children reduced to those for whom good foster homes can be found. We hope this may be so, and we realise the probable effect of such measures as family allowances and social insurance in limiting the extent of the problem; but we doubt whether the next 10 or 15 years will bring us to the stage at which institutions can be dispensed with, or even in sight of that stage. As we have pointed out, there are some groups of children who cannot be placed in foster homes and these groups will continue to exist, though their numbers, it is hoped, will be reduced, and this should be borne in mind in drawing up building programmes. There may even be, as we suggest below, a place for the institution as the administrative centre of a group of foster homes. But apart from these considerations we think community life can be developed on satisfactory lines as the alternative form of child care to which we have referred in paragraph 462 above. The institution, or large residential community, has, of course, certain advantages to offer—amenities for the children such as swimming baths, gymnasiums and large halls for entertainment, a greater choice of friends and activities than in the small private home, and often the society and friendship of more cultivated and educated people. This is recognised even by those who most emphatically advocate the boarding out system.

477. The dangers of institutional life for children, even where the institution is well managed, arise out of the tendency to a lack of interest in the child as an individual and to remote and impersonal relations. Many children in Homes are physically better cared for as regards food, clothing and accommodation than they would have been if they had remained with their parents and their parents had given them ordinary parental care. We are, however, convinced by what we have seen ourselves and what we have heard from our witnesses that, on the human and emotional side, they continually feel the lack of affection and personal interest. The longing for caresses from strangers, so common among little children in Homes, is in striking and painful contrast to the behaviour of the normal child of the same age in his parents' home. The lack of the mother's fondling cannot of course be entirely made good, but something must be provided which gives the child the feeling that there is a secure and affectionate personal relation in his life.

478. After very careful consideration we have come to the conclusion that this can best be accomplished in the institutional sphere by placing him at the earliest possible age in a small group of children of various ages under the care of a trained and sympathetic house mother or house mother and father. What the age should be is a matter on which there is some diversity of opinion, but it is generally urged, and we concur, that infants under the age of 12 months should be in an establishment specially arranged to meet their needs and giving highly skilled and specialised attention to their physical health, and that a child of that age in the Home might give the average house mother too heavy a burden. We therefore advocate residential nurseries for all children up to 12 months and for older infants not over 2½ years and not yet boarded out or placed in a family group. We should not wish to rule out the possibility that where a house mother is fully trained and has adequate help and her charges are at school in the day time she might receive a baby over 12 months and under 2½ years old into her family unit, though we feel that for some time to come the majority of house mothers will not be qualified to take responsibility for infants. Such an arrangement is good for the elder children, and saves the baby a break in continuity at a difficult age. Full advantage should be taken of any nursery school facilities to relieve the house mother of the care of the child over 2 for part of the day. Once admitted to the group the expectation would be that the child should grow up to the age of 15 or 16 as the house mother's personal charge, and should come to feel some of the same reliance on her concern and affection that the more fortunate child has towards his own mother. This does not of course mean that there would be an embargo on other opportunities for the child, e.g. adoption, should these present themselves, but it would mean that the authority would not feel obliged to seek for other means of disposing of the child so long as he seemed to be suited to his environment.

479. Our proposals involve local authorities providing nurseries, and Grouped or "Scattered" Homes within their areas for all normal healthy children who cannot be dealt with by boarding out or are not provided for in voluntary Homes. It has been suggested to us that as an alternative to providing the Homes, local authorities should place the children in Homes run by voluntary organisations and pay the cost of their maintenance. We prefer, however, not to rule out publicly conducted establishments, though we should expect local authorities to make use of available places in approved voluntary Homes wherever convenient. Indeed we see much advantage in continuing a friendly rivalry between the two types of Home.

480. It is essential that local authority Homes should be entirely detached from adult institutions. Though we have seen some admirable nurseries under the control of the master of a workhouse and his wife, we think the

combination of duties is in general most undesirable and we are glad to note that this view was expressed by the National Association of Administrators of Local Government Establishments giving evidence before us. We consider that the permission to retain a child in normal health in an adult institution for even so long as six weeks should be withdrawn, except for babies with their mothers. Other children should not be received into workhouses except in emergency, and then for not more than 24 hours.

481. In view of the special dangers inherent in the congregation of a number of infants in one building, we think definite rules should be laid down with regard to the size, position and internal arrangements of nurseries. The ideal is that the total number of infants should not be over 20. Where possible the nursery should be placed close to the Cottage Homes with which it is grouped. The large dormitory should be avoided and the sleeping room split up into a number of small units. If the infants can be in small groups during the day time, each continuously in the charge of one nurse, so much the better. Every nursery should have a proportion, not less than 25 per cent., of single sleeping rooms for infants under 12 months where they can be nursed separately if necessary. We see no need for the continuance of separate powers in the Public Health authority to maintain residential nurseries; it is preferable that nurseries for deprived children like other Children's Homes should come under the administration of the Children's Committee, to whom the advice of the Medical Officer of Health should of course be available. If the Public Health powers are retained there should be statutory power (there is none at present) in some central department to inspect the nurseries.

482. We do not consider that children who come into the charge of the authority above the nursery age should be immediately placed in the Home in which they are to remain. We have received almost unanimous recommendations from our witnesses in favour of what are variously described as reception homes, sorting homes, or clearing stations. The need for these is, according to witnesses from the Ministry of Health, one of the important lessons learnt from evacuation experience. It appears from Section II of our Report that this need is met in large measure at present on the Poor Law side—but most unsatisfactorily met—by housing the children for the time being in workhouses. We recommend that in the area of each responsible authority there shall be at least one reception Home. Some authorities already make this provision. Such establishments can, we are satisfied, serve several purposes. The first is medical, to see that the child is free of infection, clean, and trained in bodily control. The second is observational—to see whether the child is normal and well adjusted to society, or requires some special treatment to restore him to normality. It is essential therefore that medical and psychological advice should be available at such centres though we recognise that specially difficult cases will require closer and more specialist study than can be provided there. We have received interesting evidence about a successful home run on these lines at Stockholm. The child should not, however, be kept in a temporary home for a moment longer than is necessary. We do not think observation should last for more than a few weeks at the outside.

483. Reception Homes need not be arranged in small family groups, though some segregation will no doubt be necessary for medical reasons and the buildings should be planned accordingly. There should be nursery accommodation in them for children of nursery age or separate residential nurseries for such children. The Homes can serve, and in our view should serve, as "places of safety" for children needing care or protection under the

Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, as well as for the first refuge of destitute children. It is however highly undesirable that, as sometimes happens now, a child should be taken to a reception Home as a "place of safety", and retained there indefinitely because of delay in bringing the case before a Juvenile Court or in obtaining a decision. Section 67 of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, which provides for the child's detention "until he can be brought before a juvenile court", requires strengthening to ensure his being brought there without delay. We think also that with due precautions against the spread of childish ailments and with skilled and careful control and supervision, reception Homes could serve as the "short stay" Homes which are needed for children whose parents are for short periods unable to look after them, e.g. because the mother is having another baby. A striking fact that has emerged from our evidence is the large proportion of Public Assistance admissions which are of the "short stay" character. The proportion has been put as high as 60 per cent. by the National Association of Administrators of Local Government Establishments and this is confirmed by the evidence of the London County Council. The evidence is that more accommodation of this type is badly needed, and we hope that voluntary organisations as well as public authorities will consider means of providing it. We also think that there is a great deal to be said for using reception Homes as remand homes for small children, say under the age of 12. While we recognise that older children who have been remanded by the Juvenile Courts may be of a confirmed delinquent character and may therefore need a separate type of establishment, we are convinced that it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the small child needing care or protection on account of his own naughtiness (e.g. because he is a truant or beyond control or even because he has been guilty of pilfering) and the child needing it on account of parental neglect. The Juvenile Court may prescribe different treatment for the two at a later date; or it may take the view that for the small "delinquent", as well as for the child removed from a bad home, good home conditions in a new environment are the best treatment; it may commit both to the care of the same authority (under our proposals the Children's Committee of the area). In either case we see no reason why during the period of waiting for a decision the child should not be with other children in the reception Home and be reported on by the skilled observers there. It should be noted that the age at which a child can be charged with an offence (8 years) is very low. If it were raised (say to 12 years) no question would arise of treating young "delinquents" removed from their homes for their own protection or that of society in any different way from other children needing care or protection. They would in fact be children needing care or protection as they could not be the subject of a criminal charge. It is essential that accommodation in the reception centre should be sufficient to meet not only probable average needs but the needs of a peak period—in other words that there should normally be space to spare. We are informed that this was so before the war in children's Homes generally, and we hope that it will be so again. Another essential in this type of establishment is the provision of ample play material to keep the children interested and amused during the period of waiting.

484. The children found in the reception centre to be normal and healthy and needing long-term care will (except where adoption, boarding out, placing in an approved voluntary Home, or committal to an approved school is arranged) be placed in nurseries or in suitable family groups with due regard to age and the ages of the other children already in the group. Where local authorities and voluntary organisations now house the children in their care in large institutional buildings which they will be unable to replace for some time to come, they should attempt to introduce the group system by breaking

up the community into small units, each under its own house mother, occupying one floor or block of rooms in the building and taking meals at a separate table. By this means it has been found that some of the advantages of the family group can be secured. The babies would ordinarily come on from the nurseries to these family groups at the age of about 2 years. A break in association must be avoided so far as possible, and the nursery nurses should visit the children often in the first year. This should be easy where the nursery is in the same building or is one of a group of cottage Homes. A boy of over 12 years of age will be difficult to introduce into the family group of mixed sexes, and for him we recommend the combination of boarding school with holiday foster home to which we referred earlier (para. 466). For such deprived children the discipline and the opportunities for group activities which are offered by a large community would be salutary, but the boarding school could not supply the home element in their lives which we consider essential.

485. The small group Home should contain not more than 12 children ranging from about 2 to 15 years. Some of us think the lower maximum of 10 is preferable. The sexes should be mixed, subject to provision for removing the adolescent boy or girl (or indeed any younger child) who seems to need a different environment. Brothers and sisters should be kept together, but we realise that vacancies in small groups would not necessarily occur in such a way as to make this possible within the grouped Homes. There is much to be said for placing a man and his wife in charge of such a home, the man to be employed on associated work, e.g. gardening, or independent employment outside it. This plan comes nearest to reproducing the actual conditions of family life. We recognise, however, that husband and wife may not often be equally suitable for work of this kind, and that other difficulties, e.g. of accommodation, may arise. We do not therefore consider that the employment of man and wife can be recommended as the invariable, or even the normal, method of staffing the small Home. Eight is, we believe, the ideal number for a group, though it will be some time before buildings can be adapted or built for such small units. A "family" of eight is not an impossible conception even in present-day conditions, and it will allow of the protective relation between older and younger children which is profitable for both. The older children will also give the kind of assistance to the house mothers in the house that they would give to their own mothers. While any exploitation of child labour in Homes is to be severely discouraged, we are strongly in favour of both boys and girls being so brought up as to be able to do ordinary domestic jobs like washing up, laying tables, and making beds, and to take it for granted that every dweller in a house should contribute to its running by this kind of help. The labours of the Home should be considerably lightened by the provision of mid-day meals at school, and the rest of the work might well be shared between the house mother and the children, with daily help for cleaning and possibly for mending. The house mother should be allowed as much freedom as possible in her domestic arrangements. Provided the children's help is treated by her as a contribution to a joint effort—the children's share of the job of keeping the home going—and provided that what they do is suited to their years and varied from time to time so as to maintain their interest, we see no objection and much advantage in this use of a small part of their time. It should not, of course, interfere with school work or out of door exercise, or involve their arriving at school tired. Nor should the house mother be encouraged to make a fetish of tidiness and high polish.

486. Many grouped "Cottage" Homes are already in existence. We are informed that 43 per cent. of the children in local authority Homes in 1939 were in grouped Homes. Some of them constitute a praiseworthy effort to get

nearer to the family atmosphere than can be done in the large institution. There are, however, several ways in which we think they might be improved:—

- (i) Some of the groups are much too large and so defeat their own object;
- (ii) The precise similarity of all the houses in the group has a somewhat depressing effect. Here no doubt considerations of expense arise; but a group of cottages sited here and there in large grounds, differing a little from each other in external appearance if not in internal plan, would help to create the feeling of "my home" it is necessary to the child to have;
- (iii) They need a good sunny play room separate from the dining room and kitchen, with individual lockers for the children's possessions. They should have a place for quiet occupation where the older children could do home work;
- (iv) Small separate bedrooms should be available for the older children, say those over 12;
- (v) There should be a garden for outside play, not, as in some cases, a bare asphalted yard only.

In such points and many others which we enumerate below, the central department should give guidance to the authorities.

487. The alternative form of the family group is the "Scattered" Home, a small independent residence, generally an ordinary house in a street, in the charge of a foster mother who is supervised from a distance by officers of the local authority or a superintendent of a number of Homes. From some points of view this type of Home is preferable; the children may be more readily absorbed into the life of the neighbourhood and less marked out from their fellows as institution children. The objections to it arise mainly from the isolation of the foster mother in charge, which may entail risks to the children if she should not be altogether fitted for the work, and necessarily entails some lack of social opportunities for herself. We find that among those who are closely connected with the management of children's Homes opinion is divided on the respective merits of the "Grouped" and "Scattered" Homes. Everyone agrees that if the "Scattered" system is adopted steps must be taken to give the women in charge enough relief to enable them to have a social and cultural life of their own. Members of the local authority committee can help in this matter by keeping in touch with them and helping them to take part in the life of the neighbourhood. For their sake it is advisable that the Home should not be placed too far from centres of urban or village life. It must be remembered that for the children's sake as well as their own the foster mothers should be helped to contentment with their work and their environment. It has been impressed upon us by our witnesses that it is most harmful for children to be in charge of an unhappy woman. Apart from social opportunities, they should have the chance of meeting other people doing similar work to talk over their problems and develop a vocational consciousness.

488. The children from either type of Home should go to school with the other children of the neighbourhood, including those of nursery school age where nursery schools are available, as we hope they will soon be more widely, under the new Education Act. They should form the usual contacts with other children, visit their houses, be allowed to ask them back, join their Scout and Guide troops, and go with them to the swimming baths. The house mother should take an interest in all their doings, and should give them a healthy freedom. Where it is possible to arrange for children in the different cottages to go to different schools in the neighbourhood, we think

this is desirable, and our evidence is that it is sometimes done. Nothing is worse for the children maintained by public authority or private charity than to be labelled as "Home" children and to form a separate group within the school. It is of course essential that teachers in the schools should discourage any such labelling. The National Union of Teachers expressed the view in evidence that not more than about 4 per cent. of the children of a particular school could safely be "Home" children without becoming a group marked off from their fellows, but we think this estimate is too low.

489. The Education Act, 1944, should secure for all children the opportunity of primary education up to the normal standard and secondary education according to the ability and aptitudes of the child. We feel sure, however, that special attention will have to be given to children's Homes to make it certain that those advantages are enjoyed in full by the children there and to ensure that the children reach their maximum capacity at each educational stage. It is for this reason as well as for the purpose of maintaining contact with the outside world that we think it should be the general rule that children in either local authority or voluntary Homes should attend the primary and secondary schools of the neighbourhood unless they are so numerous as to make it impossible for those schools to receive them. In order that a particular Home, or rather group of Cottage Homes, shall not take up too much of the accommodation of the local school, it is advisable that its total size should be kept within a limit of, say, 100 children. A larger community is obviously very difficult to fit in to the life of the neighbourhood.

490. Should the numbers be too great for absorption in local schools, the proper course is to set up a recognised primary school with qualified teachers within the institution and admit children from the neighbourhood. In any case there should be inspection by the Ministry of Education wherever education is carried on within the Home, as it is in some Homes conducted by voluntary organisations. While some of these are engaged in educational experiments which we should be sorry to rule out, in others we are not satisfied that the education is up to the normal standard. We are informed that there may well be no inspection by the Ministry of Education of such an establishment, though there often is inspection by arrangement or invitation. The local education authority should, through its school attendance officer, discover whether the children in a Home are being educated, and if they are not, the children's parents or, if the parents are unknown, the person in charge of the Home, can be prosecuted. In this way no doubt the worst scandals have been corrected; but teaching which is slightly, or even substantially, below the authority's standard in its own schools may still be tolerated, and our evidence is that it does continue in certain charitable Homes. Under the Education Act, 1944, Part III, a Home purporting to give education to children of school age will be in the same position as a private school—i.e., it will have to be registered and inspected, and the Minister of Education will have powers of drastic action if the education is below standard. No appointed day has, however, yet been fixed for the coming into operation of this part of the Act, and we consider that in the meantime special action should be taken with regard to institutions in which deprived children are being educated. The powers of the local education authority should suffice to enable them to put pressure on any Home where the education is not satisfactory, either to send the children to the local schools (in our opinion the preferable alternative) or to improve the teaching and invite inspection. It will, of course, be essential in future that such establishments should provide efficient secondary education of varying types for children over eleven years of age retained in the Home for education.

491. Under the Endowed Schools Acts, 1869-1908, the Minister of Education has wide powers to reform endowments so as to make them most conducive to the advancement of the education of boys and girls. Under the Charitable Trusts Acts there is power for the Minister to amend educational trusts which can be shown to have failed. Local authorities should be advised to raise the question of action under these Acts in cases of difficulty to which the Acts apply. There are, however, numerous exceptions to the operation of the Acts, and we think that there is scope for a review of this legislation with a view to relieving the Ministry of Education of some of the restrictions which at present limit their power to modify educational trusts not used, or not fully used, in the best interests of the children.

492. We consider that all voluntary Homes taking full custody of children should be registered with, and subject to inspection by, the central "home-making" department, and that all alike which receive normal healthy children should be subject to a code of rules for residential Homes laid down by that department and applicable alike to voluntary and local authority Homes. The period when provision for orphans and destitute children could be treated as a matter of private benevolence, free of all criticism, is past. All establishments alike, however they are financed, should receive the guidance, advice and direction of a central authority which has made a special study of child care and can indicate where the arrangements in any Home fall short of what modern opinion requires. Where a voluntary society cannot maintain that standard for financial or other reasons it should either be assisted to do so (if it is serving a useful purpose) or it should cease to be permitted to receive children.

493. A number of points which should be covered for institutional Homes either by Statutory Rule or by directives issued by the Central Department have been mentioned in paragraphs 478-485. We would add the following (in addition to the directions regarding after care proposed in paragraphs 502-503 below).

(i) *Local Committees*

If a sub-committee is appointed by the Children's Committee of a local authority or the executive committee of a voluntary organisation to supervise a children's Home, the arrangements should provide (a) for the inclusion of both men and women members, (b) for retirement in rotation and limits on reappointment such as to secure that stimulus is given by the introduction of new members and that membership is not continued beyond the age at which an active interest can be taken in the Home.

(ii) *Staffing*

The Homes should be staffed on a basis which allows of individual care and attention to the children. As an example, for grouped Homes the ratio for house mothers should be one house mother to ten children, plus the necessary provision for assistance and relief. For nurseries a much higher ratio of staff to children is required. The qualifications to be aimed at are personal suitability, a deep interest in children as individuals, and training on the lines proposed in our Interim Report. For the higher posts administrative capacity is needed in addition to these qualifications.

(iii) *Conditions of employment for staff*

The staff must be adequately and comfortably housed with reasonable facilities for quiet leisure time and for entertaining their friends. Pay and superannuation conditions should be negotiated with the appropriate staff organisations and standardised.

(iv) *Records*

A progressive record should be kept of each child including his family and personal history and the circumstances of his admission, his health history while in the Home, and any important developments in his behaviour or his school career. It should be used to provide qualified staff with information useful to them in the care of the child.

(v) *Medical attendance and examination*

Regular medical attendance and examination should be provided for the children, as laid down in the existing Public Assistance Order for Children's Homes. The Home should appoint a medical attendant, who should be in close touch with the life of the Home and be available to give advice and help on the care of the children apart from particular cases of sickness. He should be available for consultation by the management committee.

(vi) *Sick room accommodation*

A small sick bay should be provided for each group of Homes.

(vii) *Food*

The central department should give guidance on nutritional standards and on a balanced diet and the best use of available food stuffs. Subject to this and to making full use of facilities for school meals, the house mother in charge of a family group should be allowed as much freedom as possible in planning meals for her household.

(viii) *Furnishing, etc.*

The aim should be to furnish the Home in a simple but pleasing manner, with bright harmonious decorations, curtains, crockery, covers and pictures (hung at the right level for children). Chairs, in preference to forms, should be provided, and some of them should be easy chairs. Chests of drawers should be available for putting away children's clothes. Baskets under the beds are not a satisfactory article of equipment.

(ix) *Dress*

In dress the children in Homes should not be differentiated from the other children whom they meet at school. Uniform is to be avoided unless it is a school uniform. On this point the present practice is on the whole satisfactory. Where practicable, older children should be allowed experience in shopping in connection with the purchase of their clothes, and older girls should be allowed to help in making them up.

(x) *Personal Possessions*

It is very important to encourage in the children the respect for other people's property which comes from the sense of having property of their own. Some locker or other receptacle of their own for keeping such possessions as a child buys with his pocket money or receives as presents is essential.

(xi) *Recreation.*

There should be a good up-to-date library of suitable books and arrangements with the public library for a circulating supply of books. There should also be an adequate supply of toys and indoor games, wireless, and opportunities for the pursuit of hobbies. Outdoor recreation should include the cultivation of garden plots and the keeping of pet animals. The house mother should have a small reserve of petty cash to meet expenses of small expeditions, birthday parties and birthday presents.

(xii) *Pocket money and opportunities of spending*

To allow children to spend their own money is a necessary part of their education and they should be allowed to buy their own sweets. Older children should be sent on errands for the household. They should also be encouraged to make small subscriptions to clubs or societies for group amusements, and to save up for small presents.

(xiii) *Outside contacts*

Friendships with children outside the Home should be encouraged, and reasonable opportunities should be given to invite friends to tea at the Home or to the swimming baths, games or other means of amusement there. Opportunities should be given to children to join local young people's organisations. Reasonable freedom should be allowed the child to go out alone or with his friends. Close links may sometimes be formed with adults who are willing to act as outside friends to a particular child, and these too should be encouraged, subject to careful selection. Holidays can sometimes be arranged with such outside friends. In any case some arrangement should be made for giving the child a complete change from the Home once a year.

(xiv) *Contact with relatives*

Every effort should be made to keep the child in touch with such relatives as he may possess, provided of course the contact is not likely to do him harm.

(xv) *Daily routine*

Children should not be made to rise early in order to do work before breakfast; and all the children should have breakfast as soon as practicable after getting up.

(xvi) *Names of Homes*

A Home should not have a name which marks out the children living in it as in some way unfortunate—e.g. as orphans or “foundlings”.

(xvii) *Religious up-bringing*

We do not as a Committee desire to lay down rules on the subject of religious observances. If the wise and understanding staff whom we desire to see in charge of the children are secured, they will no doubt find means, as good parents do, of influencing the children's lives both by their teaching and their example. Some members of the Committee would go further, and have expressed their personal views in a note on page 183. We are all agreed that there would be advantage if co-operation were encouraged between the local clergy and those responsible for the child's home care; and that where a chaplain is appointed to a children's Home he should be selected for his special understanding of children and young persons.

(xviii) *Discipline*

We have given much thought to this question and have come to the conclusion that corporal punishment (i.e., caning or birching) should be definitely prohibited in children's Homes for children of all ages and both sexes, as it already is in the Public Assistance Homes for girls and for boys of 14 and over. We think that the time has come when such treatment of boys in these Homes should be as unthinkable as the similar treatment of girls already is, and that the voluntary Homes should adopt the same principle. It is to be remembered that the children with whom we are concerned are already at a disadvantage in society. One of the first essentials is to nourish their self respect; another is to make them feel that they are regarded with affection by those in charge of them. Whatever there is to be said for this form of punishment in the case of boys with a happy home and full confidence in life, it may, in our opinion be disastrous for the child with an unhappy background. It is, moreover, liable

to grave abuse. In condemning corporal punishment we do not overlook the fact that there are other means of enforcing control which may have even more harmful effects. We especially deprecate nagging, sneering, taunting, indeed all methods which secure the ascendancy of the person in charge by destroying or lowering the self-esteem of the child.

There are certain behaviour difficulties, in particular bedwetting (enuresis), for which the punitive approach is in general inappropriate and should be strongly discouraged. This is one of the most serious problems of the institution and indeed of the foster home. The trouble seems to be linked with the child's sense of insecurity. Our evidence is that a combination of encouragement, small rewards for improvement, and physical treatment as medically advised, adapted to the particular case, will usually effect a cure in time, but that punishment generally makes matters worse.

Pilfering also should be treated as a symptom rather than a crime, though with the recognition that if it is allowed to continue it may develop into the crime of stealing. It seems to be sometimes a sign of emotional disturbance and sometimes the under-development of the sense of property in a child with no possessions of his own.

494. While we recommend the small family unit as being, after adoption and boarding out in the best conditions, the most satisfactory method of meeting the needs of normal healthy children, we see a limited use for the larger Home of say about 30. Apart from special experiments by voluntary organisations under exceptionally able leadership, which we should be sorry to discourage, we think the larger community may be the more successful for the abnormal group. There will always be a need for temporary removal from its home of a maladjusted or difficult child, as evacuation experience has amply shown, and notable success with such children has been secured in Homes of the size of 20-30. The unstable child appears to do better in a community with many activities and friends to choose from, and with an expert in charge of the discipline. Our evidence indicates that what is required for such a Home is an exceptionally competent and sympathetic superintendent and matron, and visiting advisers qualified in the treatment of childish abnormalities. It would serve in a sense as a residential child guidance clinic. Our witnesses have not advised us that any special regime can be prescribed for such establishments. Remarkably successful results are achieved by dissimilar methods, given personal suitability and enthusiasm on the part of those in charge. Some experiments have been made—by local authorities and one voluntary organisation—with Homes of this type as centres of a group of foster homes. The superintendent of the Home is the friend, adviser and supervisor of the foster parents, and a child who is for some reason unmanageable can be brought into the Home for rehabilitation. We think this plan well worth further trial. Care should be taken, however, not to interfere with the parental relation of the foster parent to the child or to let the child feel that there is another authority to which he can appeal. We should welcome research and experiment by local authorities on the best way of tackling the cases which for some reason are abnormal. We recognise that under the Education Act, 1944, this is the responsibility of the local education authorities, and we assume that "deprived" children, equally with those from normal homes, will enjoy the benefit of whatever remedial treatment is found to be most effectual.

495. We welcome in this connection the circular of the Minister of Education urging local authorities to make further boarding school provision for maladjusted children. We regret to learn that the Ministry of Health hostels for evacuated children who were maladjusted have not yet been taken over in any number by local authorities, and we hope immediate steps may be taken in

that direction so far as provision for deprived children is concerned. The matter is an urgent one and we are anxious that full use should be made of the successful war-time experiments in the care of the maladjusted child under skilled advice and treatment. We had evidence that the presence of such children in the ordinary children's Homes caused great disturbance and prevented the staff from doing their best work with the other children under their care.

496. We have given a good deal of thought to the question whether the provision of homes for children could not in some way be combined with the provision of boarding school accommodation for the normal child contemplated in the Education Act, 1944. This will presumably in the first place take the form of boarding houses attached to day schools for children whose homes are too far away for daily travel to be convenient. It seems an obvious course to place in such boarding houses the children eligible for the particular school for whose maintenance the local authority is in any case responsible. It is clear however that such boarding schools will not be in any real sense "homes". If the child is to be compensated for the absence of a normal home life it is essential that he should have a home from which to go to boarding school and to which he would return for the holidays. Subject to this being arranged by the Children's Committee, we should regard it as highly desirable that the children with whom we are concerned should share in any boarding school provision made by local education authorities. It is particularly desirable that children coming under the care of the authority at an age when they are not readily assimilated into small family groups—e.g. boys over twelve years of age—should go to boarding school and be placed in foster homes only for the holidays. Some existing orphanages and similar institutions of the "barrack" type where education is given on the premises seem eminently suitable for use as boarding schools. If children from normal homes could be introduced, such establishments could be brought into line with other boarding schools which are largely or wholly charitable, but which manage to escape any of the associations which cling to orphanages and foundling hospitals.

APPROVED SCHOOLS AND REMAND HOMES

497. Some children with whom we are concerned are in present circumstances sent to boarding-school—the schools "approved" by the Home Secretary for the education and training of children brought before the Juvenile Court. They are placed in the schools, or in the preliminary stage in remand homes, under an order of detention. This part of our subject presents us with some difficulties. We do not think it our province to embark on questions of criminal justice and were it not that children obviously within our terms of reference—i.e. those in need of care or protection—are dealt with by the Courts under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, on the same lines as delinquent children, we might not have felt called upon to make recommendations with regard to these institutions. As things are, however, the approved schools and remand homes must be regarded as a part of the provision made for children deprived of a normal home life, even though the treatment of delinquent children in the same institutions who have parents with whom they are in touch and to whom they go home when on leave may be regarded as outside our terms of reference.

498. Approved schools, as the long-stay institutions for the children in whom we are interested, may be dealt with first. Remand homes from our point of view are of secondary importance as they should be merely places of transit. We have asked ourselves what, if our proposals are adopted, will in future be the function performed by the approved schools for the deprived child as

distinct from their remedial function for the delinquent. In view of the powers now available to education authorities to provide boarding schools, is there any need for another type of school to which the child in need of care or protection should be sent? We think there is, for the really difficult or very unruly child, and the child who has been exposed to very depraved influences, between whom and the delinquent child the difference is often merely one of accident; both groups may, incidentally, be much retarded in their education. The approved schools provide complete custody and continuous training over the whole year, and for children removed from undesirable home surroundings and unfit for boarding out, or found to be unmanageable in the ordinary children's Homes, this is important. They also have a curriculum aiming at bringing the educationally retarded child up to the general level, and many of them provide an active out of door training which is particularly suitable for some temperaments. Others develop vocational training to a high level. While, therefore, part of the stream of children now sent to approved schools should be diverted under the new arrangements we contemplate, either to hostels for maladjusted children which should take them in hand before they have become a problem for the Juvenile Courts, or by much more frequent committals to the local authority, which might send the children to one of its own boarding schools and arrange a foster home for the holidays, we think that the possibility of sending to an approved school a child who is likely to benefit there should remain open. There are no doubt great difficulties in arranging holiday foster homes for approved school children, but we think the attempt should be made as soon as the deprived child is fit to be an inmate of an ordinary private home. We consider that the magistrates should have power to send a child in need of care or protection to a local authority boarding school as to an approved school, as they already have in London to send him to a Children's Home. Where a hostel for maladjusted children seems to be the appropriate place for him, the local education authority should be approached with a request for his admission.

499. In the main the approved schools seem to us to be well conducted in a humane and experimental spirit. The chief faults we have to find in the schools for boys are insufficient feminine influence, and a tendency in some of them to regimentation. We think the provision for the cultivation of individual interests might be improved. With regard to the senior girls' schools we have some doubt about the value of institutional treatment. These schools are dealing largely with the over-sexed adolescent, and are handling a problem to which, according to our witnesses, no satisfactory answer has yet been found; whereas the boys' schools are achieving a steady improvement in the application of methods which have been found to be to a large extent successful. No doubt a period of restraint may be necessary in the case of these girls in the interests of society as well as of the girls, but it should be used to widen their interests and educate them to find pleasure in a different way of life. More emphasis on health and social education seems to us to be required. A period of detention in a remand home with no equipment for educative occupation may be worse for the girls concerned than leaving them at large. A course of events by which a girl, originally taken under care or protection as in moral danger, who becomes, as she well may, unruly while in custody, may find herself in prison without being charged with any offence, is in our view deplorable, and we hope it will be provided against in the Criminal Justice Bill now under consideration. We are clear that the sense of being in custody should be minimised not emphasised with the senior girls, to whom the whole care or protection procedure, limited as it is to those under the age of 17, must of necessity appear arbitrary. We consider that the staff dealing with difficult and unstable girls need special training, and we welcome in this

connection the proposals of the Home Office Committee on Salaries and Conditions of Service in Approved Schools and Remand Homes (1946). We also think that where signs of instability appear, expert guidance should be sought at an early stage, before the girl becomes unmanageable. A good deal of experiment in treatment is, however, desirable in this most difficult matter. The most hopeful we have seen is an approved school where at the earliest possible moment the girl is transferred to a hostel from which she goes out to work. She has access to varied amusements and activities, is put on her honour as regards her behaviour, and remains under friendly supervision. This experiment points to the desirability of establishing schools for girls in places not too isolated, where the girls are sufficiently near centres of population to attend classes and obtain varied types of training as well as some social life outside the school. A preliminary period of training and stabilising is, of course, necessary.

500. The present arrangements for the provision of approved schools are unsatisfactory—indeed they obviously broke down in recent years since the supply is admittedly insufficient for present purposes. The abnormal circumstances caused by the war, a sudden rise in juvenile delinquency, the bombing and commandeering of school premises and staffing difficulties all contributed to this, and though improvement is already apparent there is still a considerable period of waiting in some remand homes. We see grave objection to the committal of a child in need of care or protection to an approved school unless a vacancy is known to be available for him. If there is none, the next best arrangement must be made, but that cannot in our view be detention in a transit home. If the adoption of our recommendations results in many of the children now sent to approved schools being sent elsewhere the pressure will be relieved. There is, however, no assurance under present legislation that the right number of approved schools will be provided. The incidence of need is very unequal over the country and as schools are classified according to the training given, they are not used only for children in their own area. The provision made by voluntary organisations is also unevenly spread. Though it is the duty under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, of every local authority either alone or in combination with other local authorities to take appropriate steps to remedy the deficiency, the requirement is apparently not specific enough in its relation to any one authority to ensure action being taken. We recommend that the central department concerned with deprived children should have power to call upon a particular authority to make what the Minister considers its proper contribution to meeting the particular need. We also think that the central department should itself have power to set up approved schools if necessary.

501. Remand homes lie still nearer to the verge of our terms of reference than approved schools. We wish to emphasise strongly (1) that these Homes should be for short stay purposes only, though those purposes should include careful observation as we recommend below, and if possible should be used only for the term of first remand. A fortnight should be the average normal length of residence; often it could be shorter. The population of remand homes is necessarily of a very miscellaneous character, and no continuous educational curriculum can be established. The task of the staff is made impossible if some children are kept for months waiting for vacancies in other establishments; (2) a child committed to custody for purposes of punitive detention (Section 54, Children and Young Persons Act, 1933) should not in our opinion be admitted to the ordinary remand home; (3) the period of the child's stay in the remand home should be used to ascertain so far as possible facts about his intelligence and temperament which would facilitate the decision of the Juvenile Court when he is next brought before it; a report from the superintendent of the

remand home as well as any medical and psychological information, whether obtained at the request of the magistrates or on the recommendation of the staff should be laid before the next Court (we assume in this recommendation that a trained and skilled person will be in charge of the remand home). It should be possible to identify mental defectives at this stage and prevent their being sent to approved schools; and much of the work now done at "classifying" approved schools could be rendered unnecessary, thus avoiding an extra break in the child's life. The classifying schools are open to the objection that the result of the classifying emerges too late to affect the magistrate's decision. Our investigations have led us to think that the policy of passing all children committed to approved schools through a classifying school in the first instance needs some further consideration; and that the remand home should really be the first "sieve." We realise that skilled observation will not be available in some provincial remand homes but it may be possible to make use of local child guidance clinics; we are glad also to learn that observation centres are being set up in a few selected remand homes in various parts of the country.* We recommend this arrangement; (4) notwithstanding the difficulties of arranging an educational curriculum for short-stay residence a determined effort should be made to use the time in the remand home profitably for the children concerned. The services of the necessary teachers and club leaders and suitable equipment should be made available for the purpose. A good deal that is useful could no doubt be discovered about the child by means of games and educational employment. If it is impossible to make suitable provision on account of the small numbers, the question of combining with neighbouring authorities to provide a larger Home should be considered. There may also be cases where the children could properly be sent out to school; (5) as we have already suggested in paragraph 483 we think that reception homes provided by the local authority should ordinarily be used both as places of safety and for purposes of remand for the younger children who are not for special reasons unfit for admission. We think, too, that when hostels for maladjusted children are established it will be wise to make arrangements with the local education authority to send a really difficult case to such a hostel or a hostel associated with a child guidance clinic; (6) the segregation of girls suffering from venereal disease from other girls, which is in force in the larger Homes, should be general; (7) the use as remand homes of voluntary Homes primarily intended for other purposes is undesirable, unless they are staffed by trained and skilled persons. There are, however, some voluntary Homes particularly suitable to take charge of girls in moral danger, and where such Homes are well staffed but in need of funds the question of help from public funds contingent on the maintenance of a satisfactory standard of care might be considered. We are greatly impressed by the need for flexibility and variety in the treatment of these girls, and the importance of making them feel that they are being cared for in a friendly way rather than merely held in custody. The local authority should pay for such accommodation, on the choice of which the Children's Officer would no doubt be consulted by the magistrates. Voluntary Homes or shelters for adults are not suitable for children on remand.

AFTER CARE

502. Whether the deprived child is in a local authority or voluntary Home or is boarded out, his start in life should be a matter of deep concern to those who have the charge of him. This responsibility for local authority children should fall in the first place on the Children's Committee and its Children's Officer. Those in actual charge of the child, the superintendent of the Home or the foster mother with whom the child is boarded out should be brought

* Report of Home Office Committee on Salaries and Conditions of Service in Approved Schools and Remand Homes (1946) p. 30.

into consultation. The greatest care should be taken to recognise and develop his ability and aptitudes and to encourage him to think of the various possible careers open to him and the various kinds of education to which he may proceed. Such expedients as tours of neighbouring factories and the issue of booklets about careers should be freely used; some of them may already be available through the schools the child attends. The recreational activities of a Home should include films and books which illustrate life in various industries and other employments. For these children without the normal home background, the expectation of establishing themselves successfully in the world is particularly important, and every opportunity should be taken to make them feel their own worth as citizens and potential workers. As the child approaches school leaving age advantage should be taken of the advice of the Ministry of Labour or local education authority's Juvenile Employment Service, and the vocational guidance offered by the local authority in some areas. The children in the Home should be interviewed by the Juvenile Employment Officer and should be encouraged to express a personal preference in the matter of employment. The ideal to be aimed at is skilled advice in the selection of an occupation which nevertheless leaves the child with a sense of personal choice. A stereotyped placing of boys, e.g. as farm hands or army bandsmen, such as obtains in some voluntary Homes, is to be deplored.

503. In the past the assumption that domestic work is the only outlet for the girls in public authority or voluntary Homes has been far too prevalent, and there is a tendency even now to retain girls after school leaving age for the domestic duties of the Home. If a girl remains in the Home for domestic work for more than six months it should be with the knowledge that she is free to leave; and a definite change of status signified by a change of room and the payment of a wage should make it clear to her that she is now a paid employee. She should also in that case be given opportunities of taking a domestic training, e.g. classes at local technical institutes outside the Home. The same principle applies if she remains at the Home in an occupation which earns money for the Home (e.g. laundry work). She should be paid the normal wage for her age and out of that pay for her keep. If on the other hand she prefers a different type of occupation, e.g. factory work, dressmaking, clerical work, telephone operating, shop work or nursing, she should be helped to obtain the necessary opening or training. The principle that retention in the Home for domestic or other duties should involve payment of a normal wage and treatment as an employee applies of course equally to boys.

504. The best of the voluntary organisations already have good after care machinery and keep in touch with the child during his early years of independence and often later. In this respect we think that the after care of the local authorities should be developed. At present it tends to be impersonal. It should be impressed on any child going out into the world from a local authority's care that he has a permanent relation with the Children's Officer and may turn to her for advice between jobs and even use her office as a forwarding address for letters. There should be an arrangement as there is in voluntary Homes for entertaining boys and girls who have left the Homes as guests for their holidays. The relation should be such that any young person who gets into difficulties would turn to the Children's Officer as a matter of course. This should be a safeguard against exploitation or bad conditions for a child placed in resident employment.

505. Where the Children's Officer has obtained admission of a child in a voluntary Home she should discuss with the Juvenile Employment Officer and voluntary organisation his placing in employment and keep herself informed of his progress. Any "deprived" child going into employment in a strange place should be given the name and address of the Children's Officer of the district so that he may get into touch with her if he needs help. This applies

to approved school children as well as to others. We understand that the after care of approved school children is at present under the reconsideration of the Home Office and we make no other recommendation under that head.

506. It has been strongly represented to us by a number of witnesses that local authorities should provide more hostels for young people from their Homes who go out to work. We have considered this carefully, and while we agree that in places where there is great difficulty in securing accommodation the local authority should, indeed must, set up suitable establishments for the boys and girls concerned, we regard that as the last resort and should much prefer placing the young people in suitable lodgings or using existing hostels for working boys and girls run by voluntary bodies, where necessary with a subsidy from the Children's Committee. Our investigations have however shown that lodgings and voluntary hostels are not sufficient to take all who need accommodation of this type, and that there is definitely a need for more local authority provision, especially for girls. It should be observed that the opportunity of living in a hostel widens the boy's or girl's choice of employment, as the hostel forms a base from which vocational training, e.g. in trade schools, can be taken. It is important that adolescents coming from Homes should not be marked out from their fellows in any way, and the need for hostel accommodation with club facilities is very desirable not only for these boys and girls but for boys and girls from normal homes, who would we hope be admitted to local authority hostels.

507. We think the hostel should be provided in an ordinary house, with accommodation for not more than 12-20 boys or girls, as otherwise it tends to become too institutional. It should be comfortably furnished and there should be provision for a quiet room in which the boys or girls can read or study, and a games room. The staffing of such a hostel requires careful consideration. It is important that there should be a superintendent who really understands adolescents, and while not appearing to dictate to them as to how they should manage their lives can take a personal interest in their recreation and general well being. He or she should have a good knowledge of the various types of employment in the district, and should be in constant touch with the Juvenile Employment Office. One who has had experience in boys or girls clubs would often make a suitable superintendent. He or she should be paid a salary sufficient to attract a person of good standing and qualifications. The boys and girls should be treated as if they were lodgers in a private family but under friendly supervision. They would of course contribute towards the cost of their maintenance on a graduated basis according to their earnings, a minimum residue for pocket money and clothing being secured to them. During vocational training the authority should make an allowance for pocket money and clothing. There should be freedom for them to go in and out of the hostel in their leisure periods as they would in a private house, and to bring their friends home.

HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

508. Up to this point we have been dealing with children who are normal in body and mind, except in so far as they fall into the 'maladjusted' category. The mentally or physically handicapped child presents different problems, most of which, and in particular the medical aspects, are outside our terms of reference. Some important considerations have, however, come under our notice to which we feel obliged to call attention.

509. One of the most serious problems we found on our visits was the result of the lack of adequate accommodation for the care of mentally defective children. Defective children were constantly found in Poor Law Institutions

for adults, in local authority children's Homes, in remand homes, in voluntary Homes, and although not physically ill, even in the wards of general hospitals. Their presence in the Homes is clearly detrimental to normal children both because of their behaviour and because of the fact that they prevent already overworked members of the staff from carrying on their ordinary work. It is bad also for the defective children who are not able to have the kind of care and training that they need. We understand that the knowledge that there is no room in the mental deficiency institutions and residential schools results in the children not even being referred to the appropriate authorities. We are informed that adequate provision for them has only been made in a very few areas under the Mental Deficiency Act of 1913 and the Education Acts, though the serious shortage of this provision was made clear by the Wood Report of 1929 where it was stated that "the number of institutions . . . is totally inadequate and must be increased, especially when regard is had to the far larger number of children who, in our view, should be notified in the future."* We recommend that an immediate census should be taken of ineducable children now in Public Assistance Institutions and children's Homes, and that the earliest possible steps be taken with a view to providing for them in properly staffed Homes or colonies.

510. Under the new arrangements we propose, it would be the duty of the Children's Officer to refer to the Mental Deficiency Committee any child under two years of age in her care whom she suspected of being mentally deficient and to bring to the notice of the education authority any child over two who she thought might be ineducable or in need of special educational treatment. We do not recommend any change in the present administrative arrangements, central or local, for mentally defective or educationally handicapped children.

511. The institutions for defective and educationally handicapped children which we visited were for the most part suffering severely from shortage of staff, and were in some instances also over-crowded. We were disquieted by the conditions in one or two of the privately run Homes catering for this type of child and receiving Poor Law children. A particular problem was raised by a private establishment combining a section approved by the Board of Control for the care of certified mental defectives and a section for backward boys run as a private establishment and receiving from local authorities a number of public assistance cases. The standard of care and of provision for training and occupation was at the time of our visit unsatisfactory, and we think that special attention should be paid to such private establishments for retarded children who may be placed by local authorities at some distance from their homes.

512. Our attention was drawn, both by witnesses and by officials of the local authorities with whom we conferred, to the pressing problem of epileptic children, particularly of those children who are epileptic and delinquent or epileptic and of low intelligence or markedly unstable. They are seldom suitable for admission to epileptic colonies (of which there is a lamentably insufficient provision) and are equally unsuitable for admission to approved or special schools with the result that they may be found living with normal children in children's Homes or left for many years in the wards of workhouses simply because no other place will accept them. Fortunately, such cases are not very numerous but the problems caused seem to be out of all proportion to the number of children, and we think that immediate action is called for. It seems likely that provision can only satisfactorily be made on a national or at least a regional scale on account of the comparatively small numbers.

* Report of the Joint Mental Deficiency Committee of the Board of Education and the Board of Control Part I (1929).

513. We were concerned to find on our visits that a few children not regarded by medical superintendents as suffering from mental illness or severe defect are admitted to mental hospitals under the Lunacy and Mental Treatment Acts. In the hospitals in which we found these children it had not been possible to make any separate provision for them, and they were associated with adult mental patients in the wards and in the day rooms. We had evidence from social workers in mental hospitals and the observation wards of public hospitals that children are not infrequently admitted to the wards, some of whom may become patients, on account of such problems as violent tempers, sex delinquency, larceny or wandering. Some particularly unstable boys and girls not suffering from any diagnosed mental illness are transferred under legal procedure from approved schools to mental hospitals when they become uncontrollable. The Medical Superintendents whom we consulted on our visits did not regard a mental hospital as a suitable place for the care of these boys and girls, and we think that steps should be taken at once to make alternative provision for them, or at least to see that they are cared for in a way which would not bring them into contact with adults suffering from mental illness.

514. In the case of the physically handicapped we have had evidence that in many hospitals insufficient attention is paid to the child's education and educative recreation. Even in hospitals where there is a recognised hospital school with qualified teachers and inspected by the Ministries of Health and Education, there may be many long hours in which the child is left without occupation for hands or mind. In some country hospitals no provision is made for education. We think that the Ministry of Health should urge upon all hospital authorities the importance of making arrangements for the education of children under their care and for the employment of skilled workers on the recreational side for the remaining hours not occupied by treatment or hospital routine. The child should not have added to his other hardships and sufferings the feeling that his years are being wasted so far as his mental development is concerned. Under the arrangements we have recommended it would of course be the responsibility of the Children's Officer to keep in touch with the "deprived" child who had gone from her care into a hospital, and make representations to the proper authority if she felt he was not getting the mental training and recreational help he needed and could benefit by.

EMIGRATION OF CHILDREN

515. We understand that organisations for sending deprived children to the Dominions may resume their work in the near future. We have heard evidence as to the arrangements for selecting children for migration, and it is clear to us that their effect is that this opportunity is given only to children of fine physique and good mental equipment. These are precisely the children for whom satisfactory openings could be found in this country, and in present day conditions this particular method of providing for the deprived child is not one that we specially wish to see extended. On the other hand, a fresh start in a new country may, for children with an unfortunate background, be the foundation of a happy life, and the opportunity should therefore in our view remain open to suitable children who express a desire for it. We should however strongly deprecate their setting out in life under less thorough care and supervision than they would have at home, and we recommend that it should be a condition of consenting to the emigration of deprived children that the arrangements made by the Government of the receiving country for their welfare and after care should be comparable to those we have proposed in this report for deprived children remaining in this country.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

SCOPE OF PUBLIC CARE

1. The scope of public care should be extended to cover:
 - (i) children taken into the care of foster parents for reward who are over 9 years and not over 16 years of age;
 - (ii) children of all ages up to 16 taken into care of foster parents without reward (including children placed for adoption);
 - (iii) children in voluntary Homes now unregistered. (para. 424).
2. Local authorities should be under an obligation to undertake the care of children whom the Courts wish to commit to their care. (para. 425).
3. The Ministry of National Insurance should notify the local authority in all cases where a child's pension or additional allowance is payable to a person other than the mother, a close relative, or the legal guardian. (para. 424).
4. It is desirable that every orphan or deserted child maintained or supervised by the local authority who is without a legal guardian should have one appointed by the appropriate Court and the local authority should endeavour to bring this about. (para. 425).

ADMINISTRATION

5. Responsibility for the care of deprived children at the departmental level should be in one department in which should be concentrated the relevant powers under the Poor Law Act, Children and Young Persons Acts, Public Health Act and Adoption of Children Acts and which would define and maintain standards by inspection, advice and direction. (paras. 432, 434, 435).
6. Local authorities should have the immediate responsibility for the care of the children. (paras. 430-432).
7. All services by local authorities to deprived children should be subject to Exchequer grant. (para. 432).
8. The central department should be empowered to make Rules under which children may be boarded out or maintained in institutions; these rules should apply to voluntary organisations equally with local authorities. (paras. 432-433, 472, 492).
9. The central department should be empowered to give to local authorities directions enforceable by mandamus. (para. 432).
10. All voluntary Homes should be registered with and inspected by the central department. (paras. 433, 492).
11. Subject to 8 and 10, voluntary organisations should be free to continue their present activities in the care of children. (para. 433).
12. The inspecting staff employed by the central department should be brought up to the number necessary for the inspection of all children's Homes at least once a year. (para. 436).
13. The responsible local authority should be the county council or county borough council; but where the number of children to be cared for is not sufficiently large to justify the employment of a responsible executive officer, the Minister should constitute Joint Boards for two or more areas in combination. (paras. 438, 442).
14. Where the county or county borough council is the responsible authority it should work through a single *ad hoc* committee which would be responsible for the provision and administration of Children's Homes, for boarding out, for child life protection, for the local authorities' functions with

regard to adoption, and for the keeping of records of all deprived children in the area including particulars of those in voluntary Homes. The Joint Boards, where constituted, would have similar functions (paras. 440, 442).

15. The Children's Committee or Joint Board should appoint an executive officer of high standing and qualifications who would be a specialist in child care, and whose appointment would be subject to approval by the central department (paras. 441, 444, 446).

16. The various means of providing normal healthy children with a home, viz. adoption, boarding out and institutional care are to be considered in relation to the needs of the individual child. Subject to that consideration, and full safeguards, the order in which they are named is the order of preference (para. 447).

ADOPTION

17. The following changes are recommended in the law relating to adoption—

- (1) A probationary period of not less than 3 months, with extension to 6 months at the discretion of the Court, should be required in all cases before an application for an adoption order is dealt with (para. 451);
- (2) Children placed for adoption should be notified to the local authority in all cases (para. 452);
- (3) During the probationary period all children placed for adoption should come under the supervision of the local authority's Children's Officer. It should be open to the authority to apply to a Court of summary jurisdiction or in emergency to a justice of the peace for an order to remove any such child from a detrimental environment (paras. 452, 454);
- (4) Magistrates refusing an adoption order on the ground that the adoptive home is unsatisfactory should be empowered to make an immediate order committing the child to the local authority (para. 454);
- (5) Private individuals should be prohibited from acting as adoption agencies (para. 455).

18. The Courts should be advised to appoint the Children's Officer as guardian *ad litem*, except where the adoption is arranged by the local authority (para. 453).

19. The regulations relating to applications for adoption orders should provide for (1) the medical examination of the child; (2) a declaration as to health by the adoptive parents and a medical examination in cases of doubt; (3) a declaration that they have not been refused an order by another Court in respect of any child (paras. 456, 457).

20. The staff employed by adoption societies for investigating homes should have similar qualifications to those of local authorities' boarding out visitors (para. 458).

BOARDING OUT

21. Boarding out is to be preferred to institutional care for children who are suitable for boarding out wherever entirely satisfactory homes can be found; and a vigorous effort should be made by local authorities to extend the system (paras. 461, 465).

22. A fresh attempt to secure the necessary foster homes should be made with the aid of appropriate national and local organisations (para. 465).

23. The investigation and approval of foster homes should be the duty of the local authority's Children's Officer (paras. 466, 467).

24. Other local authorities should not board out in the area except through the Children's Officer (para. 467).

25. No voluntary organisation should board children out except in homes approved by the Children's Officer (para. 467).

26. Payments to foster mothers should be standardised to cover the cost of maintaining the child. They should not include an element of remuneration (paras. 469-470).

27. While every effort should be made to place a child in a home of its own religious persuasion, the child should not be kept in a less desirable environment merely because this requirement cannot be met* (para. 472).

28. A staff of trained boarding out visitors should be available to the Children's Officer (para. 474).

29. Each boarded out child should be visited by a boarding out visitor not less often than once in every three months (para. 474).

30. Boarding out by private persons ("fostering") should be under the supervision of the local authority which should be empowered to guarantee payments to approved foster parents and to recover from the parent or guardian (para. 475).

INSTITUTIONS OR RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES

31. The disadvantages of institutional life can be minimised by the development of the family group system in grouped cottage Homes or scattered Homes. A group of children should preferably occupy a separate dwelling, but where a large single building must be used the groups should be formed within the community (paras. 478, 484).

32. Local authority children's Homes should be entirely detached from adult Institutions (workhouses). Children other than babies with their mothers, should not be received into adult institutions except in emergency and then for not more than 24 hours (para. 480).

33. Reception centres should be set up in all areas and should serve as places of safety, remand homes for small children and places of preparation for boarding out or the children's Home (paras. 482-483).

34. The law should provide that children taken to a place of safety under the Children and Young Persons Act should be brought before a Juvenile Court without delay (para. 483).

35. Nurseries under specialised medical control should be established for infants (paras. 478, 481).

36. Family groups in Homes should not exceed 12 in number and ages and sexes should be mixed. 8 is the ideal number (para. 485).

37. The group of Homes should not be too large to be absorbed into the life of the neighbourhood (para. 489).

38. Brothers and sisters should be kept together if possible (para. 485).

39. Education should normally be given at the public primary and secondary schools of the neighbourhood (paras. 488-489).

40. Pending the coming into force of Part III of the Education Act, 1944, local education authorities should exert pressure to secure adequate education for children in Homes where the educational provision is unsatisfactory (para. 490).

41. The Charitable Trusts and Endowed Schools Acts should be reviewed so as to widen the powers of the Minister of Education to revise educational trusts not used in the best interests of the children concerned (para. 491).

42. The regulations referred to in 8 and accompanying instructions should give detailed guidance for the management of children's Homes. We make a number of suggestions for these regulations and instructions (para. 493).

* But see reservation on page 183.

43. Immediate hostel provision should be made for deprived children who are maladjusted (para. 495).

44. Deprived children suited to a boarding school education who are sent to local authority boarding schools set up under the Education Act, 1944, should have a foster home to go to for the holidays (para. 496).

APPROVED SCHOOLS

45. Approved schools should continue to be open to deprived non-delinquent children who would benefit from the regime (para. 498).

46. Magistrates should be empowered to commit children in need of care or protection to local authority boarding schools, and should arrange with education authorities for the admission of maladjusted children to hostels (para. 498).

47. Experiment and flexibility of treatment are required in the case of senior girls sent to approved schools (para. 499).

48. A child in need of care or protection should not be committed to an approved school unless there is known to be a vacancy (para. 500).

49. Specific obligations in connection with the provision of approved schools should be laid upon local authorities (para. 500).

REMAND HOMES

50. Remand homes should be used for short stay purposes only (including observation); special remand centres should be provided for prolonged observation (para. 501).

51. Children should not be committed to the ordinary remand home for punitive purposes (para. 501).

52. The period of stay should be used profitably for the children (para. 501).

53. Girls suffering from venereal disease should be segregated (para. 501).

54. Voluntary Homes established primarily for other purposes should not be used as remand homes unless they are staffed by trained and skilled persons (para. 501).

AFTER CARE

55. This should be a matter of deep concern. Great care should be taken to make the children aware of the possible careers open to them. Full use should be made of the Juvenile Employment Service. Girls and boys remaining in Homes on domestic work, or work earning money for the Home, should be treated as employees (paras. 502-503).

56. Any deprived child going into employment in a strange place should be enabled to get into touch with the Children's Officer of that area (para. 505).

57. Hostels for boys and girls from the Homes who go out to work should be provided by local authorities where no suitable lodgings are available (para. 506).

HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

58. The present shortage of accommodation and staff for mentally deficient children should be remedied as soon as possible. An immediate census should be taken of ineducable children now in workhouses or children's Homes with a view to make proper provision for them (para. 509).

59. Consideration should be given to the provision of more accommodation for certain groups of physically defective children—e.g. epileptics (para. 512).

60. More provision should be made in hospitals for education and recreational occupation for the physically handicapped (para. 514).

EMIGRATION

61. The emigration of deprived children should be subject to the condition that the receiving Government makes arrangements for their welfare and supervision comparable to those recommended in this report (para. 515).

TRAINING

62. Courses of training for boarding out visitors should be arranged with Universities. Central department inspectors should take parts of these courses where necessary (Appendix I).

We were very fortunate in having assigned to us as Joint Secretaries Miss D. M. Rosling of the Home Office and Mr. G. T. Milne of the Ministry of Health. They have not only made with unfailing competence the arrangements for the wide survey of existing homes for deprived children, but they have themselves taken a most useful part in our visits. We are also deeply indebted to them for the careful assembling of a mass of complicated material, for the help they have given us in understanding the working of the central and local government machinery, and for their share in the drafting of this Report.

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 SOMERVILLE HASTINGS
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 FRANCES TEMPLE†
 S. O. WALMSLEY†
 H. GRAHAM WHITE.

D. M. ROSLING }
 G. T. MILNE } Secretaries.

August, 1946.

† Subject to the reservation on p. 183.



RESERVATION ON RELIGIOUS CARE FOR BOARDED OUT CHILDREN

(See paragraph 472 of Report.)

We regard it as a matter of the first importance that all children who are boarded out in foster homes should receive adequate religious care.

While recognising the difficulty sometimes encountered of finding suitable foster parents of the same religious persuasion as the child, we feel that the carrying out of the Children and Young Persons' Boarding Out Rules may involve the child and the foster parent in a very real dilemma. One of the principal objects of boarding out consists in the opportunity provided for the child to become integrated with a particular family. This process must obviously be hampered where week by week the foster child is separated from the rest of the family in the intimate and homely relationships engendered by attendance at the same place of worship and Sunday School, in addition to any question of actual religious instruction in the family circle.

Accordingly, we recommend the adoption of a clause in the following terms, to be embodied in all boarding out rules:—

"The religious denomination of every child shall, where possible, be ascertained. Where that denomination is ascertainable as being Anglican, Roman Catholic or Free Church, a child shall not be boarded out or remain boarded out with a foster parent of a religious creed different from that of the child. Where no such home is available, consultation shall take place with persons representative of the denomination concerned with a view to finding the home required."

Unlike the rules relating to children in public assistance institutions and Homes, none of the present Boarding Out Rules contain any provision for religious care of the child whose denomination cannot be ascertained. Since such care is the right of all children we recommend the addition of a clause in the following terms:—

"Where the religious denomination of the child cannot be ascertained, the child shall be boarded out in a foster home where adequate religious care will be provided."

(Sgd.) M. L. HARFORD

MARY L. KINGSMILL JONES

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NOTE ON RELIGIOUS CARE

(See paragraph 493 (xvii) of Report.)

We are of the opinion that the rights of children as defined in the Poor Law Act of 1930 to have religious instruction suited to their age and capacity, and in accordance with any ascertainable religious persuasion of their parents, constitute a basic principle which should be maintained in any future legislation, and methods adopted to implement it.

Whatever the practice or lack of practice of the children's parents in this respect, the peculiar position of these children entitles them to the best that can be given in the way of religious care. From their earliest years they need the help which is found in a growing faith.

It was noted that in the majority of Homes apart from nurseries, there was some form of daily prayers, but there was also evidence of lack of knowledge of how to teach the practice of religion to little children, or how, for instance, to teach them to say simple prayers of their own. The effect of a different approach was noticeable in those Homes where the necessity of providing understanding help in this was recognised.

Since the guidance of children in their first approach to religion depends in large measure on those who stand in the relation of parents to them—we consider that all who are responsible for the selection of child care workers in children's homes should have regard to their ability to care for the religious development of children as well as their mental and physical well being. Further, we believe that the encouragement by all those who are responsible for the management of Homes of co-operation between those undertaking the child's religious education in church and school and those concerned with his home care, will do much to strengthen and help this vital side of their work.

(Sgd.) M. L. HARFORD

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APPENDIX I

TRAINING IN CHILD CARE

Our Interim Report dealt with the training of house mothers and analogous staff. We now deal with the remaining categories which seem to us to need additional training.

Training of Boarding Out Visitors

1. The boarding out visitor must be capable of assessing the suitability of a foster home for the needs of a particular child, possibly for a long period of his life up to his entry into employment; of establishing friendly and helpful relations with the foster parents and co-operating with them for the good of the child; and of recognising quickly any change in the situation in the home which might be detrimental to the child, and taking or recommending the necessary action. The visitor needs for these purposes a working knowledge of social administration, skill in handling personal relations, an understanding of the characteristics and needs of normal children of different ages, and an acquaintance with the problems of behaviour and adjustment which are met with in children deprived of a normal home life. The visitor must be familiar with the available social, educational, religious and health services; should have a sound knowledge of the law and administration relating to child welfare, and of the functions of the Juvenile Court; and should be acquainted with the schemes of child care run by large voluntary organisations.

2. At present boarding out visiting is done by the following bodies:—

- (a) Local authorities. Local authorities frequently employ their own Health Visitors or child protection visitors and, in some cases, have a special Children's Officer with a social science qualification;
- (b) The Ministry of Pensions. The Ministry of Pensions employ their own Children's Officers, who receive departmental training at headquarters and "on the job";
- (c) Voluntary organisations. Voluntary organisations usually have their own staff of boarding out visitors or inspectors, sometimes with social science qualifications but generally trained on the job.

3. We heard evidence on the question of a national scheme of training for boarding out visitors from a number of employing bodies and from educational and social experts. The advice we have received is very diverse, ranging from satisfaction with training "on the job" to a recommendation in favour of a degree course related to social science, followed by a post graduate course directed specifically to boarding out work.

4. We have considered this advice very carefully and have come to the conclusion that the position to be aimed at is one in which recruits to boarding out visiting under the arrangements recommended in our Report would hold theoretical and practical qualification for this responsible work, and that the Central Training Council proposed in our Interim Report on Training in Child Care should also be responsible for organising courses for boarding out visitors. This training would, we think, also be of assistance to adoption society workers and to workers in other fields of local authority and voluntary services for children. It should be designed so as to cater both for students with good academic qualifications but no special training, and also for students who have had the professional training offered to those who enter the occupations of teaching and social work. We think the training should be of University standing. The courses should deal with child development, family life, social conditions, and social services and the agencies through which they are rendered. Where the subjects of the course are the same as those proposed in our Interim Report for house mothers, they would be taken on a considerably higher academic level.

5. Candidates qualified by education or training for admission to the course would be:—

- (1) Graduates whose course has included some subject which would form a good background for a student entering the field of child welfare, e.g. psychology, sociology, philosophy or economics;
- (2) Holders of a Social Science Certificate or Diploma;
- (3) Holders of a Health Visitor's Certificate;
- (4) Holders of a Child Care Certificate Part II as recommended in our Interim Report on Training in Child Care;
- (5) Non-graduate trained teachers;
- (6) Others whom the Central Council for Training in Child Care may consider to be qualified, on grounds, for example, of long experience, or good academic qualifications not covered by (1).

The most careful selection of candidates for personal suitability must be a necessary preliminary to admission to the course. The Central Council should set up a suitable selecting body for this purpose and the selected candidates should be recommended to the Universities for acceptance.

6. We think that of the year of training practical work should occupy between one third and one half. This is intended to include practical work in the long vacation. The aim of practical training would be to give the student experience of the ordinary needs of children of different ages, as well as to train them for the actual work of boarding out. Students who had not already had direct experience with children could have this arranged in children's Homes, camps, clubs, or play centres, or through the various services to children in their own homes. The main part of the practical training would, however, consist of the actual boarding out and visiting of children under skilled supervision. We understand that this supervision could be offered by the Ministry of Pensions, which has a sound training scheme already in operation, and with a diminishing load of work and consequent reduction in its own recruitment could use this machinery to train fresh workers for the local authorities and voluntary organisations. Those of the local authorities and voluntary organisations which employ trained and experienced social workers could also undertake practical training.

7. As far as possible this new course should be co-ordinated with existing facilities for the study of child welfare in the Universities. It would in our view be essential that it should be undertaken in Universities and colleges already providing training for social workers, particularly where there also exists a chair

of Child Health. It is also hoped that the Social Science and Education Departments would collaborate in the teaching arrangements. As the numbers will not be large it will be as well to concentrate the teaching at a few Universities. We consider that courses might be run at three or four Universities in England and Wales. If a course is established in Scotland there would be advantages in co-ordinating the English and Scottish courses so that Scottish candidates could take a post in England and vice versa. The English Universities selected should be in different parts of the country and should preferably be those which already have a faculty of Social Studies in close relation with the faculty of Medicine.

8. There should be some degree of flexibility in the course so as to adapt it to the needs of candidates of different previous experience and training. For example, a Health Visitor will need training in child development but can omit the parts of the course dealing with physical health; while the trained teacher will need to give more time to the social background and less to child development. We are satisfied that valuable elements could be used from existing courses if there were consultation between the Central Council for Training in Child Care and other training agencies.

9. As regards the boarding out visitors already employed, we think it will be necessary for a period to run short courses of the type which the Provisional National Council for Mental Health has already conducted with success. It might be possible to arrange for such courses of a few weeks in length to be run by the extra-mural departments of selected Universities. This could be done in conjunction with groups of local authorities, who would probably find it more convenient to give candidates leave to attend a central course than to run courses independently.

10. We recognise that the flow of recruits from the courses recommended in our paragraphs 4-8, though beginning, we hope, at an early date, would not at first be sufficient to meet the needs of employing bodies. For purposes of emergency recruitment the qualifications listed in paragraph 5, subject always to personal suitability, may suffice, though we recommend that entrants should take, before or after appointment, the short theoretical course recommended in paragraph 9 for existing staff. If it could be combined with some practical experience under supervision with, e.g. the Ministry of Pensions or Dr. Barnardo's boarding out visitors so much the better. After a period of about ten years the new qualifications for admission to boarding out visiting should be well established and there should be no need to provide special training for visitors appointed without those qualifications.

11. We think that approved candidates for the boarding out visitors course should receive where necessary assistance in the form of bursaries from public funds, and that financial assistance should also be given to candidates taking the short courses referred to in paragraph 9.

Training of Inspectors

12. We assume that the inspectorate of the central department will be to a large extent recruited from persons who have had experience in the various forms of child care dealt with in this Report, and will have qualifications at least equal to those of Children's Officers. Their specific training will no doubt be, as at present, "on the job"—i.e. the inexperienced inspector will work for a time under the supervision and with the guidance of an experienced inspector. There may however be from time to time suitable recruits to the inspectorate who have special knowledge of one side of child care but whose experience has not covered the whole field. We think that arrangements should be made with the Universities for the admission of such persons to those parts of the theoretical and practical courses we have suggested for boarding out visitors which they have not covered in their previous studies, and that they should be required to attend as part of their training.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF WITNESSES

The following organisations and individuals* gave evidence before the committee:—

ORGANISATION

REPRESENTED BY

<i>Association of Education Committees.</i>	Sir PETER D. INNES, C.B.E., M.A., D.S.C. Alderman WRIGHT ROBINSON, J.P. Mr. F. BARRACLOUGH, M.A. Alderman Mrs. E. GREGORY, O.B.E., J.P. Mr. THOMAS WALLING, M.A. Dr. W. P. ALEXANDER, ED.B., M.A., B.Sc.
<i>Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Approved Schools.</i>	Miss S. RABY. Mr. J. VARDY. Mr. N. H. MATTOCK.
<i>Association of Municipal Corporations.</i>	Mr. S. MOFFETT. Mr. W. STANSFIELD. Dr. H. PAUL, M.D., D.P.H. Mr. G. H. BANWELL.
<i>Dr. Barnardo's Homes</i>	Mr. P. T. KIRKPATRICK. Mr. E. H. LUCETTE. Miss CHAVASSE. Mr. T. F. TUCKER. Miss D. M. DYSON. Mr. F. J. POTTER. Dr. H. C. GILMORE, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I.
<i>City of Birmingham Maternity and Child Welfare Department.</i>	Dr. JEAN MACKINTOSH, M.D., D.P.H. Dr. E. BADENOCH, M.D. Miss M. SLACK. Miss L. PARKER. Miss N. M. JONES. Miss M. OSBORNE.
<i>Board of Control</i>	Dr. W. REES THOMAS, M.D., M.R.C.P. Miss R. DARWIN, C.B.E. Mr. F. CHANTER. Mr. H. C. BLEAKLEY.
<i>British Federation of Social Workers.</i>	Miss D. C. KEELING, J.P., M.B.E. Miss E. KENNEDY. Miss R. DUNCAN. Mrs. I. TURNER. Mrs. K. MACDOUGALL. Miss B. BLISS.
<i>British Medical Association</i> ...	Dr. R. G. GORDON, D.S.C., M.D., F.R.C.P. Dr. W. F. GAISFORD, M.D., F.R.C.P. Dr. H. C. GILMORE, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I. Dr. C. O. STALLYBRASS, M.D., D.P.H. Dr. A. V. KELYNACK, M.D.
<i>Catholic Adoption Societies</i> ...	The Right Reverend Monsignor Canon G. L. CRAVEN.
<i>Catholic Child Welfare Council</i> ...	The Right Reverend Monsignor Canon G. L. CRAVEN. The Very Reverend Canon J. BENNETT. The Reverend W. J. SEWELL. The Reverend J. F. HEALEY. The Reverend W. FLINT.
<i>Children's Aid Society</i>	Lt.-Col. HERBERT GLANFIELD, O.B.E.

* The list excludes those appearing before sub-committees or heard in private for special reasons.

ORGANISATION

REPRESENTED BY

<i>Church of England Children's Society (formerly Waifs' and Strays' Society).</i>		Col. The Hon. E. WYNDHAM, D.S.O. Dr. C. CORFIELD, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. Mrs. RUPERT SCOTT, O.B.E. Mr. W. R. VAUGHAN, O.B.E. Miss M. DEM. RUDOLF.
<i>Cornwall County Council...</i>	...	Mr. S. P. HEATH. Miss GOODWIN.
<i>County Councils Association</i>	...	Sir JOSEPH LAMB. Sir JAMES AITKEN. Mr. R. BELOE. Dr. C. F. BROCKINGTON, M.D., D.P.H. Mr. F. B. MATTHEWS, M.B.E.
<i>Doncaster and District Council of Social Service.</i>		Miss E. D. EVANS. Dr. R. W. L. WARD, M.B., CH.B.
<i>Durham County Council</i>	...	Mr. T. B. TILLEY. Mr. R. B. HINDMARSH, O.B.E. Dr. IAN McCracken, M.B., CH.B., D.P.H.
<i>Essex County Council</i>	...	Mr. HIGHAM. Miss E. K. TRILLWOOD. Mr. E. O. PAGE.
<i>Fairbridge Farm Schools</i>	...	Mr. GORDON GREEN. Miss ELLEN HART.
<i>Family Welfare Association (formerly the Charity Organisation Society).</i>		Mr. B. E. ASTBURY, O.B.E.
<i>Federation of Committees for the Moral Welfare of Children.</i>		Miss VAN GYSEGHAM. Mrs. MILLER.
<i>Home Office—</i>		
<i>Children's Branch</i>	...	Mr. L. N. BLAKE-ODGERS, M.C. Miss A. M. WARNER. Miss W. M. GOODE. Mr. F. L. HAIGH.
<i>Probation Branch</i>	...	Mr. B. J. REYNOLDS, O.B.E. Miss K. P. WILLIAMS.
<i>The Howard League for Penal Reform.</i>		Mrs. MADELEINE J. ROBINSON, J.P. Miss C. CRAVEN, J.P.
<i>The Incorporated Association of Headmasters.</i>		Dr. C. F. JONES. Mr. H. RAYMOND KING. Mr. E. J. R. POTTER.
<i>Invalid Children's Aid Association</i>		Miss H. C. DAVIDSON. Miss N. R. MANSON. Miss F. H. WYNNE.
<i>Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls, Women and Children.</i>		Mrs. M. M. KEYSER. Miss M. MOSES, O.B.E., J.P. Miss E. ROLLIN. Miss N. LAWRENCE.
<i>Jewish Board of Guardians</i>	...	Capt. F. R. WALEY, M.C. Mr. SIDNEY SPANJER. Mr. H. GEE. Mr. MARK FINEMAN.
<i>The Jewish Orphanage, Norwood</i>		Mr. BASIL I. Q. HENRIQUES, J.P. MR. I. STATMAN.

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<i>Magistrates' Association</i> ...	The Lady CYNTHIA COLVILLE, D.C.V.O. Miss E. H. KELLY, C.B.E., J.P. Mr. N. V. KENYON, B.Sc., J.P. Mrs. MADELEINE J. ROBINSON, J.P. Mr. J. A. ROSE, J.P. Miss A. LENTON. Miss DE BLANK.
<i>Ministry of Education</i> ...	Mr. J. H. BURROWS. Mr. G. R. HUGHES. Dr. J. E. A. UNDERWOOD, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H. Dr. A. F. ALFORD, M.B., CH.B. Mr. H. A. JENKIN. Mr. J. LUMSDEN.
<i>Ministry of Health</i> ...	Mr. S. F. WILKINSON. Mr. G. A. N. LOWNDES. Mr. J. N. BECKETT. Miss Z. L. PUXLEY. Mr. HOWELL E. JAMES. Mr. H. H. TURNER. Miss G. M. AVES. Miss E. ALDEN. Mrs. M. E. COALES.
<i>Ministry of Pensions</i> ...	Mr. H. PARKER. Mr. F. G. HINKS. Miss N. K. RODWELL.
<i>National Adoption Society</i> ...	Lady GWENETH CAVENDISH. Miss H. M. BLACKBURNE.
<i>National Association of Administrators of Local Government Establishments.</i>	Miss PLATT, J.P. Mr. PITTS-STEELE. Mr. W. WATTERSON. Mr. R. W. RAMSAY, M.B.E.
<i>National Association of Local Government Social Welfare Officers.</i>	Mr. W. S. NEWBERRY. Mr. A. S. WILLIS. Mr. J. A. MUSTARD.
<i>National Association of Maternity and Child Welfare Centres and for the Prevention of Infant Mortality.</i>	Dr. ASHLEIGH GLEGG, M.D., D.P.H. Dr. MARY GORIE, M.D., D.P.H. Miss M. GLAZIER. Mrs. KENT PARSONS, M.B.E. Miss M. R. LOVELOCK.
<i>National Association of Probation Officers.</i>	Miss N. RALLI. Mrs. D. W. LEATHERDALE. Mr. E. W. COLE. Miss E. M. HUGHES.

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Dr. D. JOLLY, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H.
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Miss RUTH THOMPSON.

National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

The Rev. W. N. McCANN.
The Hon. D. SMITH.
Mrs. SCOTT CATER.
Mr. J. T. GRIFFITHS.
Mr. C. COOKE.

National Union of Teachers ...

Mr. H. H. CARTWRIGHT.
Mr. C. A. ROBERTS, J.P.
Mr. W. EASTERBY, M.A., M.LITT.
Mr. R. F. G. HENDERSON, O.B.E.
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Miss M. A. BEEBY.

Provisional National Council for Mental Health.

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Dr. F. BODMAN, M.D.
Miss R. THOMAS, B.A.
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Refugee Children's Movement, Ltd.

Mrs. D. H. HARDISTY.

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Women Public Health Officers' Association.

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Miss E. K. TRILLWOOD.
Miss E. RAMAGE.

Lady ALLEN OF HURTWOOD.

Mrs. BIRCH-REYNARDSON.

Miss D. F. A. BLIZZARD, Organising Secretary, Birmingham Diocesan Council for Moral Welfare.

Lt.-Col. JOHN BOWLBY, M.D., R.A.M.C.

Miss M. BREARLEY, Lecturer on Education, University of Birmingham.

Miss CLARE BRITTON.

Mrs. I. BROGDEN CARTER, O.B.E., Children's Officer, Cheshire County Council.

Mr. W. T. GLASS, Public Assistance Officer, Somerset County Council.

Miss EILEEN GRIFFIN, Chief Welfare Officer, Children's Aid Society of Canada.

Dr. SUSAN ISAACS, M.A., D.Sc., Psychologist to London Clinic of Psycho-Analysis.

Miss M. MELLANBY, Prison Commissioner.

Dr. A. H. NORRIS, C.B.E., M.C., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H., formerly Chief Inspector, Children's Branch, Home Office.

Miss LEILA M. RENDEL, Hon. Director the Caldecott Community.

Miss D. PETO, O.B.E., Superintendent of Metropolitan Women Police.

Mr. ALUN PRICE.

Capt. JULIAN SNOW, M.P.

Mr. W. J. TAYLOR.

Dr. D. W. WINNICOTT, M.R.C.S., M.R.C.P.

The following also submitted memoranda which were considered by the committee :—

St. Albans and District Council of Social Service.

Association of Headmistresses.

Association of Psychiatric Social Workers.

Central Council for the Social Welfare of Girls and Women in London.

Church Army.

Church of England Moral Welfare Council.

Lancashire County Council.

Manchester Education Committee, Juvenile Employment Bureau.

Metropolitan Boroughs Standing Joint Committee.

Ministry of National Insurance.

Montessori Society.

Müllers Orphan Homes.

National Council of Social Service (Committee on Adoption).

National Council of Women.

Progressive League.

Royal College of Nursing (Public Health Section).

Society of Medical Officers of Health.

Southern Railway Servants Orphanage.

Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations.

Tyneside Council of Social Service.

Young Women's Christian Association of Great Britain.

Miss M. W. Barnes, ex-Matron Surrey County Council, Scattered Homes.

The Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, P.C., M.P. (then Minister of Labour).

Mrs. Helen Donnington (pamphlet the "Care of Homeless Children").

Dr. Michael Fordham, M.B., M.R.C.P.

Mr. Alfred Gottlieb.

Lady Gunston.

Mrs. M. M. Harvey, J.P.

Lady Langman.

Miss Irene Maguiness.

Mr. L. Willshire, Superintendent, Hollybrook Children's Homes, Southampton.

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